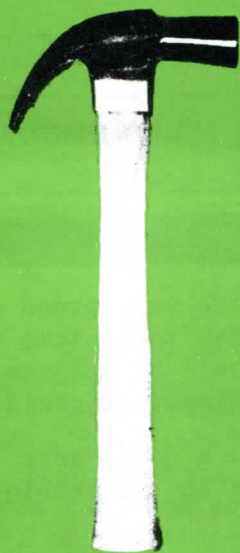
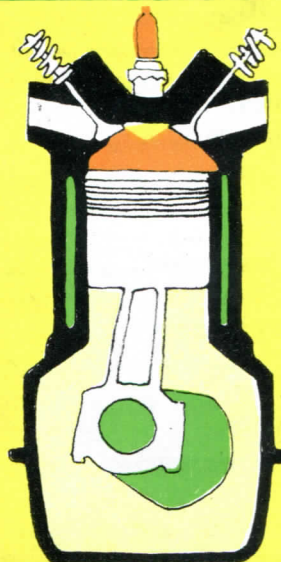
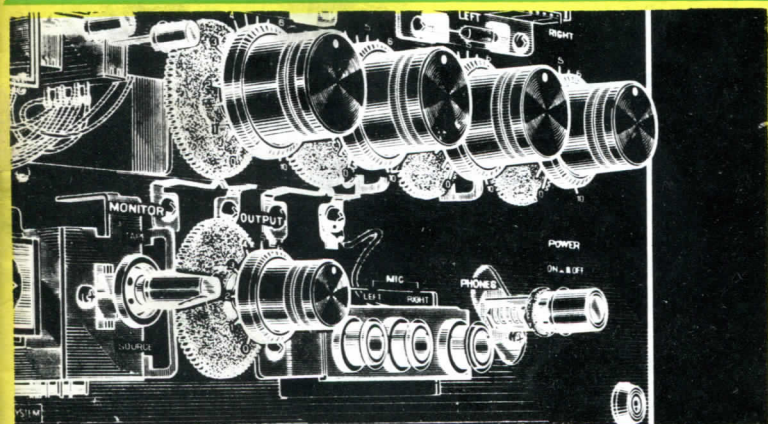




SOCIAL CHANGE and development

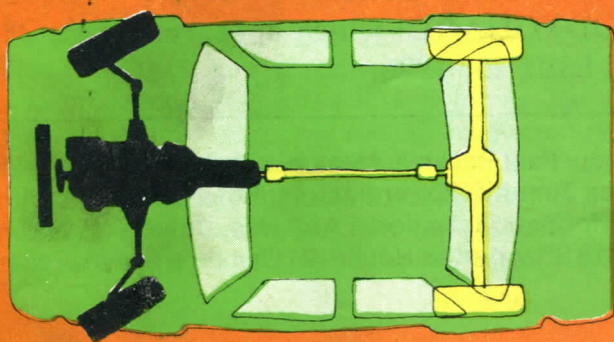
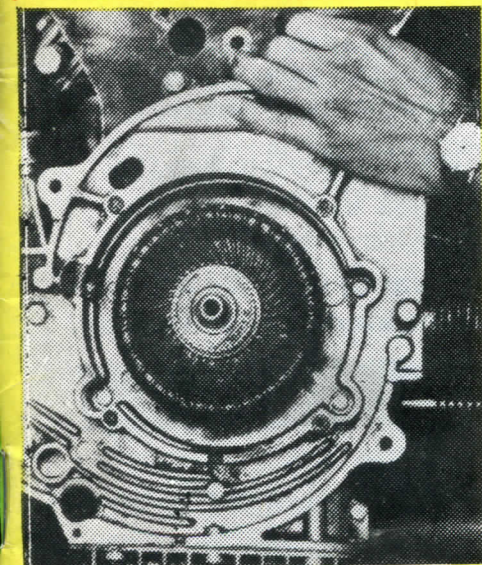
NUMBER 16 April 1987, 68c incl tax



Industry and technology

New series: 3rd world
figures

Supplement: Machel
and Chissano





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Crossed Wires! XXXXXXXXXX What a Mesh!

St Paul's Mission Primary School, Musami were very proud of their new wire mesh-making machine. The machine was bought to help them to go into education with production and to help pay school expenses. There should be a large market for wire mesh, and their wire mesh would be cheaper than anything that could be bought from Harare.....

The same week this machine started working, a donar gave St Paul's Mission Hospital a consignment of wire mesh, enough to fence the vegetable gardens of 26 of their village creches/nutrition centres.

Something just as bad, or maybe worse has probably happened near to you. We will give a two year free subscription for the most horrifying true story of this kind of mis-planning.

What is the Journal?

The Journal aims to promote discussion and debate on current issues of importance to our readers. The Journal is a voluntary, non-profit making collective publication.

The Journal on Social Change and Development would like to retract, and apologise for, the article 'ONLY ONE BODYGUARD' which appeared on Pg 28 of Issue 15, 1986.

Editorial Board: Chairperson: Arnold Sibanda. Vice-Chairperson: Paul Brickhill. Members: Tafi Chigudu, Charles Halimana, Joyce Kazembe, Brian McGarry, Trish Swift, Musa Zimunya. Co-ordinators: Rose Campbell, Chris Johnson. Cover: Ric de Satge. Photographs: Ministry of Information, National Archives, University of Zimbabwe. Printed by Memorial Co-operative Society. Office: 413 Shepperton House. 94 Cameron Street. Postal Address: P.O. Box 4405, Harare. Telephone: 790124.



Editorial

Any fool, as we know, can ask more questions in ten minutes than the wisest man can answer in a lifetime.

We don't want to be such a fool. Ours is the more daunting task of asking the right questions.

To ask the right questions one has to have not only a sympathetic appreciation of the process that is unfolding, but must be a willing and active participant.

Firstly, we would like to ask whether we are moving on the road we chose, i.e. to socialism? Secondly, if we aren't, what are the implications?

To answer these questions we need to look at the pattern of ownership and control of the means of production that prevails in Zimbabwe today. We then need to examine the efforts being made to change this pattern in favour of Zimbabweans, i.e. state ownership and workers' control.

Alongside this exercise we also need to examine the methods and means of defending our gains so that those who have been 'displaced' do not find a 'new lease of life' in our economy.

Even where we have gained Zimbabwean control of firms, which Zimbabweans are in control? 'State control' and 'nationalisation' do not always increase 'people's power'. There has to be a 'popular state'. State controlled enterprises can also be influenced by transnational corporations (TNCs) just like local capitalist firms.

It is also possible to buy off key groups of workers and their leaders by offering them better pay and conditions (but not control) so that they form an unholy alliance with the TNCs or bureaucratic managers, against the other workers. These are sometimes the best organised workers.

We could easily choose the wrong technology that makes us more dependent on foreign capitalists for machines, spare parts and maintenance. Or that which gives us high production but drastically reduces the number and quality of jobs. All these would not help us much along our chosen road! Neither would cottage industry technology and we should seriously ques-

tion such industry going under the name of 'appropriate technology'. What is appropriate to our purpose could be very different from this.

In short, what progress are we making towards workers' control in industry? Are we developing technology (tools and working methods) which will help towards workers' control? Are we evolving the social and organisational structures that will sustain this process?

Zimbabwe today is trapped in the tentacles of foreign capital i.e. LONRHO, ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION, UNION CARBIDE, BATA, BARCLAYS BANK etc. All these are TNCs whose first concern is their shareholders in London, New York, Paris, Rome etc, and not Gwanda, Mutorashanga, Zimuto, let alone Bulawayo or Harare!

Today we are face to face with apartheid in South Africa as this monster prepares to face sanctions, (which we have also campaigned for,) and the intensified struggle of the masses. We also exist in a hostile economic environment that is not kind even to the 'moderate road'. The foreign investment we have had so far has only helped us to produce primus stoves and chewing gum and has opened up a 'locally' owned firm (Olivine Industries) to a TNC i.e. Heinz, notwithstanding state participation.

What then are the options for Zimbabwe? If this issue does not answer some of these questions then we hope that at least it has asked some of the relevant ones.

production? socialism? workers' control technology? appropriate? development? anti-socialist? industry? 5 Year Plan?

sanctions? skills? skills? progress? technology? socialism? anti-socialist workers economy? appropriate?

power



Industrial Development in Zimbabwe.

The prospects of the New Five Year National Development Plan 1986-1990

by Walter Eigel SMB

Right in time for Independence Celebrations 1986, the Zimbabwe Government published its Five Year National Development Plan 1986 - 1990. Whereas the Old Transitional Plan 1983 - 1985 genuinely focused on a socialist society, the new plan makes a few noises about socialism, while pointing towards some kind of international capitalism.

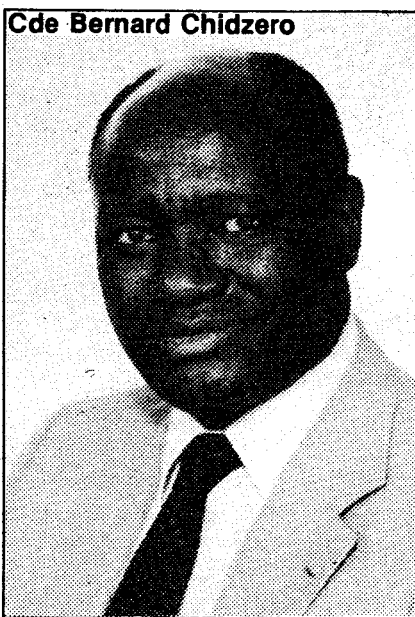
Well, on the one hand, one is happy to see the emphasis shifting from simple post-war social welfare politics to a more serious production policy and industrial development policy. Happy, because we can't rely for ever on the rich uncle in the Northern hemisphere to pump money into this country to keep up social services.

Avoid rising unemployment and falling living standards for the large masses of the population.

We will have to finance them out of our own productive economy. The years of hatching the newly-born baby are over. Happy also because the politicians realise that the success of the first 6 years' political priority in bringing about a substantial transformation of the inherited social system needs to be supported and strengthened by a growing economy in order to avoid rising unemployment and falling living standards for the large masses of the population.

This combination of social politics with industrial development is commonly called 'Redistribution

Cde Bernard Chidzero



with Growth', and it is the key word in the call for a 'New International Economic Order'. In order to be able to benefit more from their economies, the Third World countries call for a new deal; better prices and more stable prices for their exports on the World Market, trade agreements, a generalised system of preferences.... In short: integration into the World Economy at better terms. And their national development plans reflect more or less this call.

No wonder that their national development plans differ

little from another, even of those which in no way have opted for a socialist way. The Zimbabwe Five Year National Plan 1986 - 1990 is no exception to this.

This is the one thing that is worrying: our development plan doesn't seem to aim at a genuine socialist development - despite all the expressed intentions. It finds its alliance with other Third World countries whose economies are little different from capitalism.

But after all, we must admit, its not the -ism which is decisive. Its rather the content of the plan which decides whether the economy is going to be operating for the people and with the people.

The content of the plan decides whether this economy is going to be operating for the people and with the people.

In brief, this plan favours exports over local markets; foreign needs over local ones; capital intensive over labour intensive industries; urban over rural development and foreign capital over local capital. The defects of this approach can be summarised:

Export vs Local Markets.

We need foreign currency to modernise our industrial

5 Year Plan 1986 - 1990



machinery. But we must export most of the goods those machines produce to earn that foreign currency. So industry provides less to feed our hungry masses and less tools to our peasant farmers.

Foreign Needs vs Local Needs.

To earn foreign currency, our exports must be of 'international standard', meaning industrial country standard. This needs extra foreign currency and often makes the goods too expensive for our own people to buy.

Capital-intensive vs Labour-intensive.

The modern technology that export industry needs is capital intensive, energy intensive and labour saving. It creates few workplaces, but each one needs investment, about \$4000 - \$100 000. Even if this sum was only \$20 000, we have 1000 school leavers per year. Making industrial jobs for them would cost \$2 000 million per year!

Urban vs Rural.

Modern industries need urban facilities so they settle in and around towns. This increases wages and services in town. The more able rural young people are attracted to town and are lost to the development of rural areas. Urban and rural people become first and second class citizens and the divisions between them increase.

Foreign Capital vs Local Capital.

Government regulations are meant to ensure fair prices and wages and prevent money leaving the country. But, as they work, many local businessmen feel restricted

by them. They say they do not want excessive profits, just more freedom. Until they get it, they will try to send their money abroad instead of investing at home.

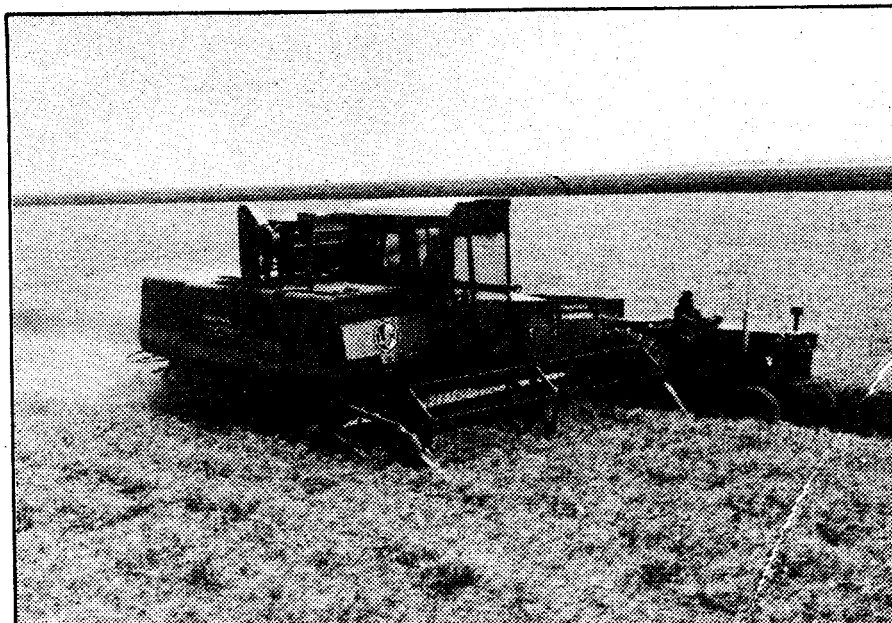
I know small entrepreneurs in Europe who would invest here if it was easier for them to take out a fair (not excessive) profit, but labour regulations and exchange control put them off.

These controls do not worry big business (transnational

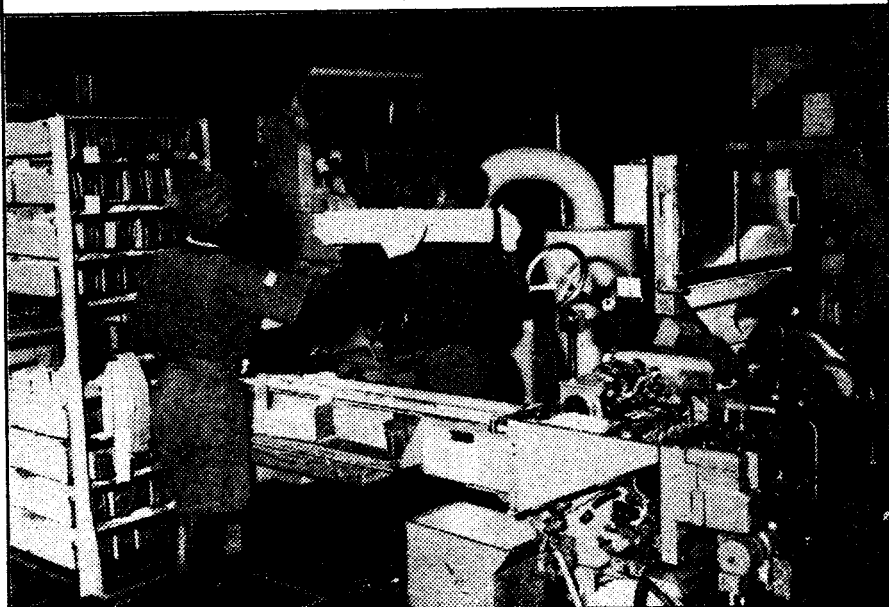
corporations - TNCs). They can always evade exchange controls by transfer pricing, and if they have labour troubles, disputes are settled by governments usually in favour of foreign earnings and not the workers.

Dependency vs Self-reliance.

'Export led development' makes us more dependent on the world market, and on the business cycles, booms and crises of the rich Western industrial countries



WHAT SORT OF TECHNOLOGY SHOULD ZIMBABWE USE?





The bigger share the TNCs take in our economy, the more difficult it becomes to control them. They make the decisions which affect our livelihood, but they decide for their greater international profit, not our national welfare.

THERE IS A WAY OUT OF THIS

Industrial Development Concentrated in Rural Areas.

70% of our people are rural, so rural development must come first. This does not mean only farm production, but rural services to help production and provide home comforts: who fixes the well or the borehole engine when it breaks down? Who mends your smashed door or your shoes?

Most people go to town for these services. This is expensive, but rural workshops would make the services cheaper to set up than the \$20 000 plus per job in modern industry.

Foreign investment is not the only investment. Small local firms should be encouraged: they are more committed to the country and its natural resources than the TNCs, they are less profiteering, and they are easier to control. But they have no voice in national policy debates.

Appropriate Technology.

Appropriate technologies do exist to create more employment. Existing simple



WORKING TOGETHER FOR
DEVELOPMENT

technologies should be upgraded where necessary and applied on a wide scale. Research and development is needed on new appropriate technologies.

This does not mean second class technology, but technology suited to local conditions; highly productive, energy saving, environment conscious, and, where capital is scarce, labour intensive. It makes the best use of our resources, land, capital, labour, energy, etc for our purposes.

The only way the masses can control the productive processes is by sharing in production. We will never

find the \$2 billion per year for them to share in 'modern' (western) industry. It can be done by investing all we can in research and development for the appropriate technology for improved rural development. This would enable rural people to produce all they need themselves and give them the control over their own lives that is their right.

Without this, 'rural development' as we see it is a series of handouts that make rural people more dependent.

Conclusion.

In brief, the short comings of the Five Year National Development Plan are:

Not that it is over optimistic about growth rates, but that it backs the wrong horse - a Trojan horse (foreign capital)

Not that it encourages private investment. But that it encourages the wrong kind of private investment (foreign capital)

Not that it emphasises production. But that it is biased against broad based rural development and does not reach most of the population.

It will actually prevent genuine social transformation which could be achieved by involving as many people as possible in the production and giving them, the people, not politicians and planners, control over those processes and their own lives.



The Doctor

Tapera Sabe diagnoses our national sickness

I have long suspected that something has gone wrong with the revolution, but now I am convinced that it is being diverted by the ruling class

The projects which the government are approving illustrate this betrayal. The Mwenezi palm oil project is one example. Government has given the go-ahead to this project, but is it logical for a ruling class which has committed itself to Marxism-Leninism to put such a prestigious and strategic project in the hands of the imperialists and black bourgeois? One wonders.

Some of the black bourgeoisie some months ago had a tussle with the workers at a factory which led to a lockout. The workers allege that one of the top managers was being iron fisted - descending on them with a hammer. The way the government officials handled the dispute leaves much to be desired. Too controversial to be described, it was a slap in the face for the working class and their ancestors.

This reveals the interests and the aspirations of 'our rulers'. They pay lip

Country	Infant mortality (per 1000 births)	Life expectancy (years at birth)	Adult lit %	GNP/head US \$/yr
Gabon	117	44	12	3909
Angola	165	43	5	1247
Congo	68	60	50	1180
Ivory Coast	119	47	41	950
Cameroon	92	53	41	890
Nigeria	109	50	29	860
Zimbabwe	83	56	71	850
Ghana	86	55	30	360
Tanzania	98	52	74	280
South Africa				
Black	280	-	-	2670
White	11	-	-	-
Africa Average	120	49	36	880



National Sports Stadium:

service to socialism, while they go all out to protect the remnants of capitalism left by Smith's unhappy regime.

Remember that several government officials and their relatives have interests in some companies. Such an official cannot be trusted to solve impartially a dispute between the workers and the management. He would be biased towards management because he indirectly, or his closest relative, has interests in the company concerned. These days honest men are few and far between.

No doubt government could finance the gigantic Mwenezi palm oil project, maybe with the money intended for the eye catching new parliament building. If the oil project succeeded, government could boast to the world what Zimbabwe's socialists have achieved. Our socialist friends would lift at least a finger to help us with the technology, but government decided that it must be the capitalists who celebrate.

They pay lip service to socialism while they go all out to protect the remnants of capitalism left by Smith's unhappy regime.

The dramatic 'never again shall we be betrayed' promises have been forgotten. But the progressive forces still remember, because they had thought that this was the turning point, into the real road to socialism. The promises now only comfort fools.



Co-ops inherit Debts

Government policy is to encourage co-ops but there are very few industrial co-ops yet. Some of the best known are those, such as Fencing Services, which were formed by the workers to keep a firm going after it went bankrupt. Unfortunately in cases like this the new co-op inherits the debts of the firm as well as its assets. This means that Fencing Services Co-operative started with a debt of \$400 000 left by the previous manager who fled the country and therefore they cannot afford to buy enough materials to work at full capacity.



At this stage of the revolution we do not need projects like the new parliament and the ahead-of-schedule national stadium. They are good to the eye, but they generate zero income, or very insignificant income. We cannot believe it; a \$100 million parliament when we are still living in disgraceful ghettos.

What is really needed is a good socialist foundation; good modern well-equipped schools, pre-schools and hospitals. We do not need the makeshift schools only made possible by local self-reliance and very little government funding. No ordinary worker can benefit from the proposed new parliament. The progressive intelligentsia would not approve it, or the national stadium. One wonders whether our ruling class is progressive.

Scientific socialism in Zimbabwe is still a mirage. Seven years after independence we still cannot see the revolution. It has lost its meaning. Now 'reconciliation' looks more like a kid glove to box the colossal white capitalist industrial infrastructure which is holding the revolution to ransom.

Scientific socialism in Zimbabwe is still a mirage. Seven years after Independence we still cannot see the revolution.

'Reconciliation' was tried for the past five years and found wanting. It was publically condemned on 30 June 1985, only to be persued after the general elections. It had lost its meaning largely because it is unscientific. It has caused confusion and concern to the progressive intelligentsia, the workers and the peasants who are not sure now whether the revolution is coming or going.

Similarly, capitalism has been tried for the past five years and failed dismally - nil (nothing) out of ten. Bourgeois economists would doubtless say this was biased, and give it eight out of ten. They would give it ten out of ten if it were not for the embarrassingly low employment levels.

The bourgeois economist would hurry to give an uncalled for lecture on capitalism's success in the past five years. He would point out the 'remarkable' improvement in the balance of payments account, increased exports, improved net profits of multinationals and other minute points.

The worker earns just \$36 a week. Where does that get him with sky-rocketing prices?

He does not realise that these profits are strictly for the very few and largely belong to foreigners. The worker earns just \$36.00 a week. Where does that get him with sky-rocketing prices? And with capitalist producers pressing for more producer price rises? It is not surprising that the price of mealie-meal has doubled since independence. In a true socialist



state such a staple food would be given to the people free. But these capitalists raise prices even after a bumper harvest. The system is sucking the blood of the people day by day.

Also, what about this 'self-reliance'? It is only the workers and the peasants who suffer under such a scheme. It is only high density suburbs and communal areas that did not have schools which are required to contribute to build a school. It is a mystery how the worker, after he has paid all these demands, can still walk in the street fully clothed. Maybe his clothes are second-hand or borrowed.

Admitted, self-reliance is not bad. It is a common feature of socialist states, but it cannot go on forever. When carried on too long it becomes an unbearable burden. It is unjustified when money is not being channelled to income generating projects, the surplus of which would replace our 'self-reliance'.

These bourgeois economists and industrialists are the ones who prophesy the death of our economy if full economic sanctions are imposed on the sick and haunted Pretoria regime. They are interested in eating and drinking at the expense of their brothers that live in sub-human bondage. No doubt they are afraid of losing the material life they have been used to, and occasional holidays in such places as Honolulu.

Full economic sanctions against Botha's inhumane, genocidal policies may quicken the pace of the Zimbabwean revolution.

On the other hand, full economic sanctions against Botha's policies may quicken the pace of the Zimbabwean revolution. The capitalist, unable to make 'reasonable' profits, would relinquish the reigns of the economic horse. The workers would take over and slowly and painfully collect the pieces together and use the factories for their own benefit and independence.

We would then see if people sleep without eating any food and not having money to spend. Malnutrition would be a thing of the past. Beggars and prostitutes would disappear from the streets. Scientific socialism has that effect. It has been tried and tested and the results are excellent. Cuba and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are examples.

Since it is being said, Zimbabwe has no intention of becoming a carbon copy of any other socialist state, we cannot be sure what the future has in store for us. We only hear hopes that capitalism can be allowed to work hand in hand with socialism. That would be open betrayal of the revolution.

We wait and see what comes of the national plan. Perhaps there is better to come. This revolution cannot simply go to waste because of a handful of petty bourgeois.

Zimbabwe's Energy Policy

National Chauvanism or Collective Reliance.

In March 1980, immediately after independence, Zimbabwe's planners were faced with two important policy options. The first was the new regional SADCC initiative. The SADCC had been set in motion a year before by the already independent states of Southern Africa, in part as a reaction to attempts by South Africa

to increase its regional control via CONSAS. The Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS) was to be made up of a South African sun orbited by its dependent neighbours. The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) had as one of its founding objectives the reduction of its dependence

particularly, but not only, on South Africa. This was to be achieved by a strategy of collective self-reliance by member states.

The second important policy decision was on energy. Zimbabwe's half of Kariba's hydroelectric output was inadequate for the country's needs, and Zimbabwe has been



buying electricity from Zambia to cover the shortfall for some time previously. During UDI Smith's planners had been working on an alternative energy source. This was a large thermal power station using coal from Hwange. The Smith regime was clearly worried about being dependent on a hostile independent state such as Zambia and therefore wanted national self-sufficiency, no matter what the cost. But the plans for a power station at Hwange came to nothing during UDI because, due to sanctions, the Smith regime could not raise the necessary funds (about one billion dollars) nor get access to the necessary foreign technology. The option of buying hydroelectric power (HEP) from Cahora Bassa in Mozambique was clearly not considered

at this time as this was also in a hostile independent African country.

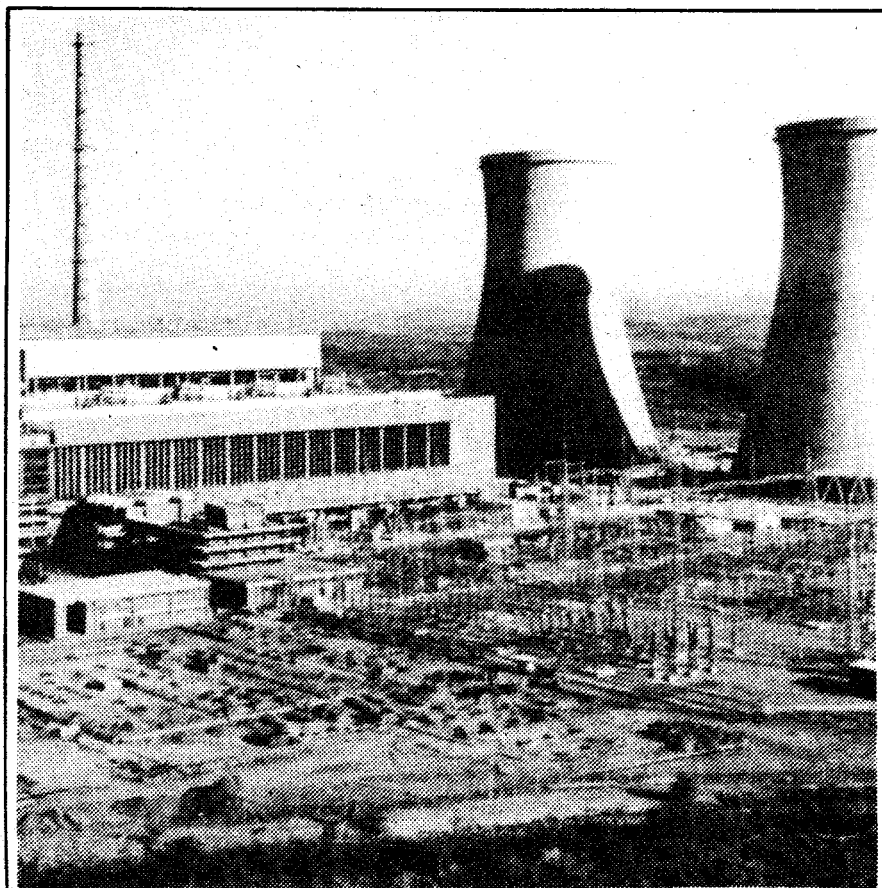
Two options: to continue Smith's policy of national self-sufficiency or to enter the SADCC spirit of collective inter-state self-reliance

Therefore, in early 1980, Zimbabwe was faced with 2 options in planning for its future energy needs. The one was to continue with Smith's policy of national self-sufficiency based on the settler regime's fear of its independent African neighbours. The other option was to enter into the SADCC spirit of collective interstate self-reliance by using the already existing hydroelectric installations in the region. Both Zambia and Mozambique were proven allies of the people of

Zimbabwe by their clear support for the liberation of Zimbabwe during the 2nd Chimurenga. These two could hardly be considered as hostile to the new Zimbabwe state. On the contrary, they were most probably its strongest allies as they too had suffered with Zimbabweans in the war against the racist settler regime. The cost of supporting the Zimbabwean struggle for Mozambique alone has been estimated at over half a billion US dollars.

As we all know, for some strange reason, in early 1980, the new Zimbabwean state went for the first, nationalist, option of self-sufficiency. They took over Smith's plans for an expensive coal fired power station at Hwange. Sanctions had now ended so they could now get the necessary funds and technology which the Smith regime could not. Why they did this is still a mystery to many Zimbabweans.

What have been the results of taking the Hwange power station option? The first one is that the country is now saddled with a large foreign debt which has to be paid back in yearly installments (debt servicing). In 1984 the loan to the Electricity Supply Commission (ESC, now incorporated into ZESA) was estimated at over 60 million dollars increasing to over 800 million dollars in 1988. Hwange Colliery Limited has also borrowed heavily to finance increased coal production to supply the Hwange power station. In 1985 this company's debt was over \$100 million and repayment in that year came to \$20 million. No



Hwange Power Station.



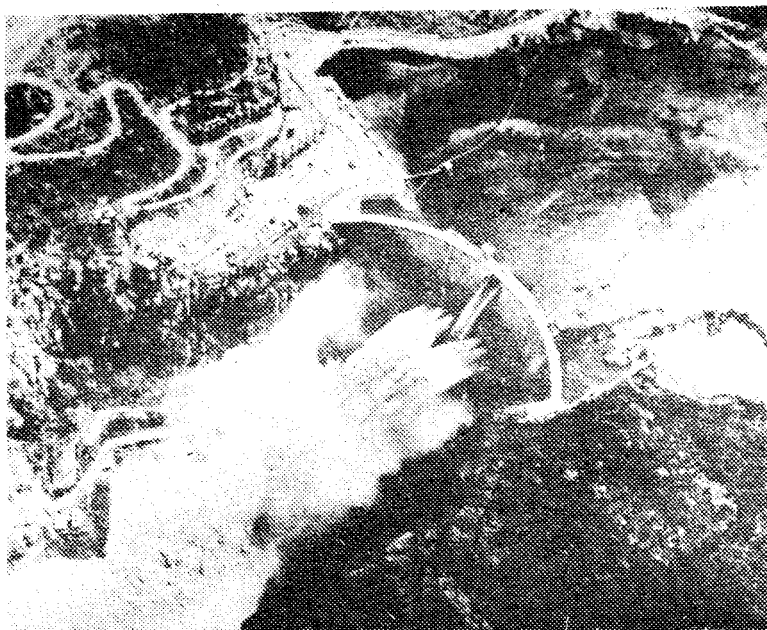
wonder that the country is suffering from a severe shortage of foreign currency!

To pay back the huge 'Hwange debt' electricity charges have shot up.

The second result of taking the Hwange option is that, in order to pay back the large debt, electricity charges have shot up. For heavy industry they have increased five times since 1979! This has meant that products that we export that require large amounts of energy, such as ferrochrome, are now less competitive on the world market. All of our manufacturing industry uses electricity so the price increases are finally paid by the man in the street in the form of higher costs for manufactured items.

Hydro-electric option is estimated to have been four times cheaper/unit of energy than the Hwange option.

What would have been the results of taking the other option of buying the energy from hydroelectric plants already existing in neighbouring countries? Firstly an important aspect of hydroelectric power is that although the initial cost (capital) is higher than that for a thermal power station, the later day to day (reccurent) cost is much lower. Both the Kariba and Cahora Bassa dams are already built, therefore the recurrent running costs are relatively low meaning that the price of energy from these sources is much lower than Hwange thermal energy, even after all the Hwange debts are paid. It has been



cahora bassa

estimated that the hydro-electric power option would have been 4 times cheaper per unit of energy than the Hwange option.

Secondly, most of Zimbabwean industry is operating below capacity and export markets are being sought to maximise capacity. The most obvious export markets are our two neighbours, Mozambique and Zambia. But both of these countries have no money to buy goods from Zimbabwe, goods they both desperately need. Therefore, if we were buying energy from them they would have the credits to buy Zimbabwean goods. This would create many local jobs and make manufacturing more efficient (by working at closer to fuller capacity) which would reduce the unit cost of the items on the local market. National electricity costs would also be much lower (possibly 4 times lower) which means that the price of domestic electricity would be lower as well as the price of manufactured goods as the factories'

energy bills would be lower. Also, our exports such as ferrochrome and nickel would be more competitive on the world market and the electricity guzzling smelters would have much lower energy bills. This could well have allowed for an expansion of production and exports resulting in increased foreign exchange earnings for Zimbabwe.

We must therefore ask, would not collective self-reliance with our neighbours in the spirit of the SADCC have been preferable to Smith's narrow idea of national self sufficiency? But who will give us an honest answer now that the deed is done? ■

by T. Kwenda

DID YOU KNOW.....
If the HEP station on the north bank of Cahora Bassa had been installed (as planned) it would have produced almost as much electricity as the new Hwange Power Station.



ZCTU on Sanctions

Sanctions, the economy and workers in Zimbabwe.

Summary of a paper and conclusions of a Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union seminar on the impact of sanctions on the economy and workers, 16 December 1986.

The paper discussed the implications of the implementation of sanctions on South Africa. The political context of the sanctions policy was discussed. Zimbabwe policy both towards the apartheid regime and sanctions had been consistent. The heavy cost of sanctions was anticipated politically and that the sacrifices would have to be borne by all Zimbabweans. It would not be ruled out however, that some powerful Western nations and other weak ones in this region would succumb to overtures from Pretoria to circumvent sanctions. Half-hearted sanctions would neither achieve their objective nor assist those nations that would apply them faithfully.

The close connection of the economies of Rhodesia and South Africa imposed a difficult legacy for the Zimbabwean government, which is still engaged in the

project of reducing its trade relations with and almost complete dependence on transport routes through South Africa. There would be heavy losses for South African capital which has considerable investments in this country. The diversification of its trade relations and transport routes would entail considerable costs at least in the short term for Zimbabwe. The process was already underway and will definitely be accelerated with the implementation of sanctions.

Unemployment would most likely increase.

Unemployment would most likely increase as some sectors would be more vulnerable than others as a consequence.

Ultimately the solution to the impasse in South Africa would have to be a political one. Sanctions were merely a means to induce meaningful and peaceful change in South Africa. The correlation of domestic social forces within South Africa itself will determine the outcome of present struggles.

Sanctions: What are the likely effects on the Zimbabwean economy?

Based on the 1980 CSO input-output tables and equipped with the input-output analysis Cde. Kaliyati analysed the likely effect on sanctions on sectoral output and employment.

The lay-off would constitute 1,7% of the total employment as at June 1984. It was pointed out that the figures for mining and agriculture were under-estimates given the fact that output levels in these sectors are highly influenced by the availability of certain critical chemicals most of which come from South Africa

Estimated Effects of Sanctions on Different Sectors of the Economy.

Sector	% Drop in Output	Absolute fall in employment
Agriculture	0,2	531
Mining	3,2	1,766
Manufacturing	7,3	12,155
Electricity and Water	1,3	962
Construction	2,6	1,219
Hotel, Restaurant and Trade	0,4	326
Transport and Communications	0,2	100
Banking, Insurance, Finance and Real Estate.	0,2	26
Services (Government and others)	0,2	699
Total		17,784

Absolute fall in employment for 1983 and 1984

Sector	1983	1984
Agriculture	1 041	399
Mining	-	711
Construction	636	735
Commerce	351	59
Transport	161	134
Manufacturing (total)	2 108	1 454
Furniture		21
Engineering		137
Clothing	176	80
Textiles	149	300
Leather and Footwear	-	250
Rubber	-	58
Total	4 297	3 492

Source: Annual Review of Manpower, 1984.



2. National Levy for S.U.F.

The seminar then recommended that a national levy for the Sanctions Unemployment Fund be established. All workers and employers would contribute. In view of the hardship and suffering which would result from the implementation of sanctions and possible retaliatory measures by the South African regime; it will be necessary for all Zimbabweans to bear the sacrifices that this would entail. A precedent already exists in the form of the Drought Relief Levy. It was therefore recommended that Government be required to sanction the levy to be carried out and deposited into the Sanctions Employment Fund (SUF).

3. Special Provisions for Laid-off Workers

It was also recommended that local authorities such as Municipal Councils be required to make special provisions for workers who would be laid off as a result of sanctions. Some grace period with respect to accommodation, school fees and medical care should be provided to such workers.

IN SOLIDARITY
WITH THE
STRUGGLING PEOPLE
OF
SOUTH AFRICA

8. Support for Sanctions.

The seminar participants re-affirmed their unwavering support for the imposition of sanctions against the illegal racist regime of South Africa.

1. Sanction Unemployment Fund (S.U.F.)

The seminar agreed that the SANCTION UNEMPLOYMENT FUND should be established immediately. It was agreed that a board of trustees be appointed by ZCTU to oversee the administration of the fund for the benefit of workers who would be retrenched as a result of sanctions. The Board would consist of ZCTU officials, a bank representative and experts from Government, the University of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies and Local Authorities.

sanctions

Findings and Recommendations.

4. Board of Trustees for S.U.F. Administration.

The Board of Trustees would be charged with the responsibility of the administration of SUF. It would examine such possibilities as the creation of income generating schemes as the formation of co-operatives for retrenched workers rather than a mere handout from SUF.

5. Contributions from Trade Unions.

The seminar then recommended that trade unions contribute a minimum of Z\$200.00 by the end of January to the SUF until further notice. Efforts would also be made to solicit contributions to SUF from international donors. It was recommended that the Z\$200.00 contributions commence in January 1987.

6. Employers to pay Required Pension to Workers.

It was noted that some employers do not pay the required employer's contribution towards their workers' pensions on retrenchment.

7. National Security Scheme.

The urgency to establish a National Security Scheme was stressed.



Problems of Black Professionals

by Farai Joseph Motsi

As a graduate engineer in a local industry, my experiences of job training in domestic and foreign industries has much to offer in terms of discussing critical problems, present and future, affecting industrial growth with the aim of solving some social and economic problems facing the country now, and also those likely to come in the future. Also reflected in this article is the general but strong sentiment expressed by the majority of young engineers in both parastatal and private industries.

Training

Industry is fundamental to almost everything we need and

use: food, shelter, clothing, health.

needs can only be met by training within industries to produce engineers with the necessary breadth of vision and qualifications. In fact, I prefer to say 'educating and broadening the experience' of engineers to 'training and retraining'; it expresses better the idea of breadth of vision.

Several training opportunities are offered either by UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organisation) or by foreign industries through CZI (Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries), but very few

firms take up these offers for their graduate engineers. These useful training programmes are being wasted at the expense of the country. In my own organisation a few young trainees were prevented from taking up training in West Germany which that government was prepared to sponsor as part of its assistance to Zimbabwe industry. But at the same time a white engineer (who has already left the organisation) was sent over to Germany at the expense of our organisation. The excuse given for this was that only long-serving employees were considered: but already three black





engineers had served longer than that white engineer. This particular industry is a monopoly and a lucrative enterprise. The training opportunity denied to technologists only helps to undermine progress of the industry, the individuals concerned and the whole country.

The chief weakness of this organisation is that it remits abroad a lot of foreign currency as royalty payments.

The future and well-being of industry in Zimbabwe depends partly on the innovative and creative mind. And therefore it is the responsibility of industry to encourage innovation and creativity and stop priding ourselves of our position in the continent. In the United Kingdom I attended an electrical design course together with personnel from the PTC (Post and Telecommunication Corporation). The training offered to these engineers was outdated as it seemed to touch on a system which was becoming unpopular here in Zimbabwe and is presently being gradually phased out. Further training is now required to catch up with an already changing system. Several training opportunities in telecommunications do exist, and they should be fully used for public benefit. This country needs efficient domestic and international communications network to serve industry commerce and the government sectors. The system being used at present in Central Harare, let alone the rest of the country, leaves much room for improvement. Foreign hire of manpower is no doubt necessary, but

should be looked at as a short-term measure.

The majority of practicing engineers joined the local institution of engineers as a condition of employment with their industries. Quite a large percentage of graduate engineers still are active members of British institutions as their profession demands. The situation must change, and this requires the local institution opening their doors to attract Zimbabwean engineers. And this can be achieved by changing the present membership conditions to recognise the changing order.

There should be better links between the institution of engineers, technical colleges, the university and of course industry. The Inspectorate of Factories must see to it that properly qualified persons hold jobs in industry. This is important for progress and for a safer working environment.

Personal Problems

The new engineer of today often feels that he is seen as a threat.

Bullying and intimidation are not a product of corporate policy in the majority of cases, but come from blacks at the top. Their ego is costly to industry. They force obedience, stop rational questioning from the young, and are creating power empires within the organisation. The consequence to the young professional trainee is that of fear and frustration. Young people in industry urge these forces to stop such acts of backwardness which so often are unnecessary and totally unhealthy to the developing



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mind. A very good example is that of a specialist trainee in my organisation who while in the Federal Republic of Germany was recruited by the visiting directors and thus encouraged to return home. After a month engaged here in Zimbabwe, some individual power empire sacked him. The only plausible reason for this is simply unfounded fear, and threat to the less qualified, or to those with irrelevant qualifications.

Black senior bosses should refrain from intimidating young, bright career graduates. Instead, they should give assistance in bringing up mature black advancement in industry. These same black bosses should not look down on female graduates as simply house wives or playgirls.

We all have our contributions to make, and we will all be poorer if any person is not allowed to contribute his or her skills.



Socialist Industrialisation

Third World economies are highly dependent on technology from the developed countries. To obtain this technology they have to rely on exports of agricultural products and minerals. They don't produce their own machines and the equipment necessary to start their own manufacturing industries, or even to maintain the machinery which they do use.

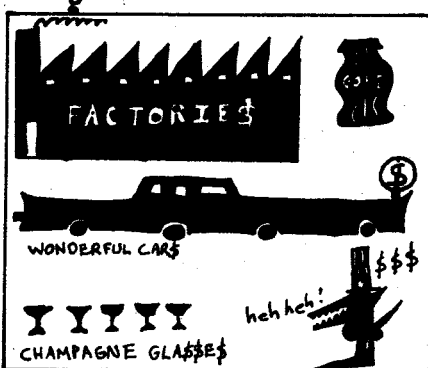
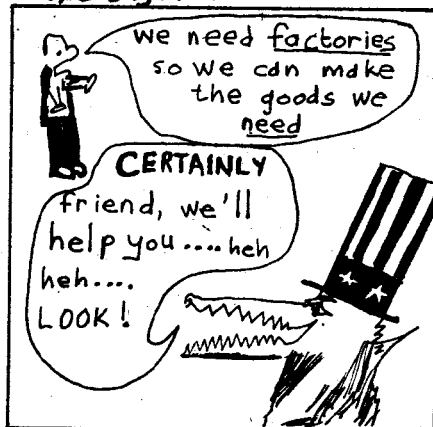
To break with this colonial legacy they have to industrialise.

This process of industrialisation can be either socialist or capitalist. So we need to know the difference between these two socio-economic systems.

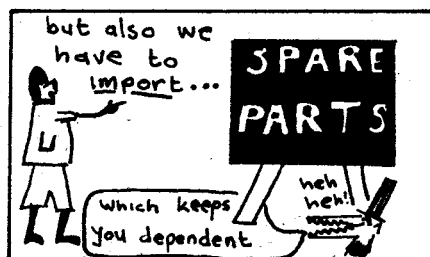
One night, somewhere in the third world.....



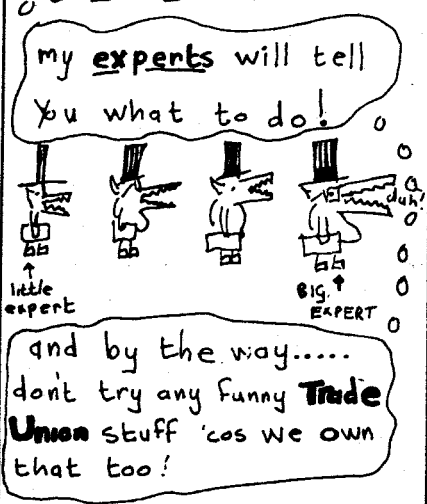
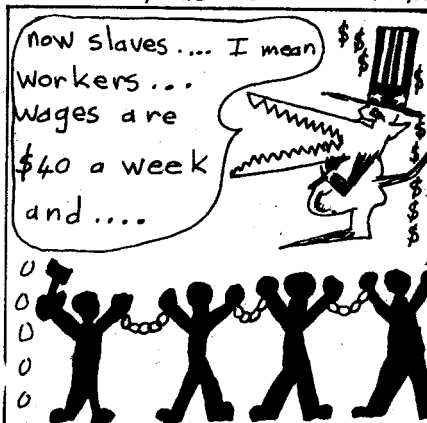
Next day.....



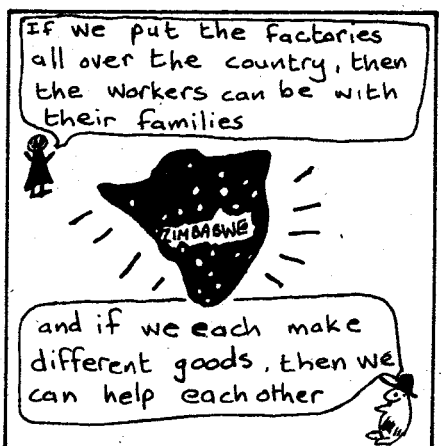
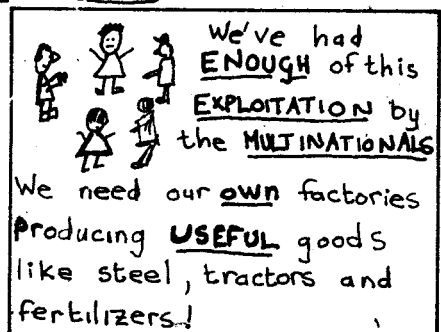
but... look closer at what these 'friends' are offering.....



meanwhile, back at THE COMPANY....



BAH!



"Stupid Socialists! All you care about is the good of the people! What about my profits!"



Appropriate Technology for Industry

There is a danger that our industry could grow up in a fit of absence of mind, and education can go on regardless of the fact that we are becoming an industrially developing country. Companies must be discouraged from taking soft options.

This is, taking the overseas manufactures' licence, copying his designs. This is clearly every justification for taking a licence and sharing costs of research and development, if this leads to independence in a few years. I realise that cottage industries have a limited capital to operate on. Assistance from organisations such as CZI and EEC (Industrial Development Centre, Brussels) must be surely considered.

My fear is that we continue to be dependent on outside technology.

Licences must only be a short-term plan. What most engineers are concerned about is the changing systems to meet the changing needs of industry and rural development, changing ourselves and the industrial work force by training and experience; and leading to change rather than being forced by economic necessity, as is often the case.

More industrial research should be placed at the doors of the technical colleges, its students will play a direct and life-long role in industry.

The relationship existing between the technical colleges (the Polytechnic and University included) and industry at present is purely a convenient one.

Industry must work closely with colleges. The matter for research and development for our industry is an imperative need, and its continuity will strengthen our industrial position as a whole. The Standards Association must be made more efficient in the area of product design specifications, safety and technical information. The institute of Agricultural Engineers is vital to rural development, and their aims should be incorporated in the effort of research and development. Establishment in the future of a technical university (now a growing need) must be done in the realisation of the need to advance rural technology and to close the present existing gap between industry and colleges.

While it is positive to have technical co-operation with countries presently engaged in high technology, it is absolutely necessary that we should also make strong co-operation with countries such as India who have vast experience in areas of creating and applying appropriate technology. Areas which come to mind easily are harnessing wind for power for irrigation, exploiting nature, forming gas for heating and cooking, simple water treatment units, simple mechanised implements and tools to boost rural agricultural activities. The use of naturally occurring herbs for pesticide and pharmaceutical industries, pollution technology and medical technology for mobile and rural clinics.

For many, a car is no longer an item of luxury, yet it is scarce and expensive. Faced with this similar problem, **India's industry designed a cheap and simple car.** In the face of constantly shifting relationships of world currency markets - foreign arrangements in automobile industry can be exorbitant for countries in our position. The advent of India's 'Volkswagen' saw the prototype. Other successes have since emerged - space and telecommunications technologies. This example simply shows a change in an industrial set-up in order to control a country's technological growth, and self-sufficiency.

We must also move away from British style of management. Britain in the past seven years has enjoyed huge revenues from her North Sea oil fields but still her industrial activities decline. British industry has not collapsed because the engineers are not giving industry their best, but because attitudes between the employer and the employee do not further the cause of industry favourably. It has always been brutish and British for economists, lawyers (in short - the city), to look down on engineers as dirty craftsmen! Such prejudice in the long-run affect the education system - hence portray engineering as a dirty profession. In short colonial management and prejudice only serve to undermine efforts to build a sound industry.

by Farai Joseph Motsi



Paving Your Way — a development problem.

Development organisations can experience serious conflicts between the need to support themselves and their task of helping the people among whom they work to develop. *Benjamin Mosele* from Botswana visited the offices of *Social Change* recently and reported on his experience of this kind of conflict.

Benjamin used to work for an organisation which is quite well known in Botswana and further a field as a promoter of rural industries. Its activities included research and developing equipment and techniques for suitable small industries, and training. None of these are profit making activities. This organisation's main centre was originally funded by one European donar, but after its first few years, the donar announced that the centre must become self sufficient; grants from this donor would be cut by 20% in the coming year, and by the same amount each year until the funds were cut off completely in the fifth year.

This meant that the centre needed to find ways of earning money. One way they could do this was for the centre's metal workshop, where Benjamin worked, to make tools and equipment for sale to the local villagers. These tools were needed, but if the centre itself became a business selling tools, they would undermine their own business if they taught or helped local craftsmen to make the same tools in competition with them. The two different aims of the

centre were in conflict.

Benjamin was affected by the conflict when he and two of his work-mates decided that they wanted to set up a small metal workshop of their own, so that in their spare time they could make things like burglar bars, window frames and other small items to earn themselves a bit more money. However, they needed to buy a welding machine for this workshop, and the price was more than they could afford, so they had to look for a loan.

Their government's organisation, similar to SEDCO, was ready to lend money for the machine.

They found that their government's organisation for promoting small business (the equivalent of our SEDCO) was ready to lend them money to buy the machine, but only on condition that there was at least one full time worker in their workshop using it. One of the three agreed to work full time in their workshop and resigned from his job at the development centre.

At this point, management of the centre realised that the new metalwork shop could be a competitor for business in the village at

a time when they themselves were facing cuts in their funding and needed to earn as much as possible from their own workshops. They expressed their dissatisfaction so strongly that Benjamin and his colleagues felt they had to resign from the centre.

The three metalworkers were therefore forced into depending entirely on their new business, which was not their original plan. So for some time they were earning much less money than they had at the centre, and life was very hard for them.

The centre also faced some difficulties, as Benjamin and his two colleagues had been their most highly trained metalworkers; they were, for a while, much less able to produce goods for sale.

Benjamin is not sure of more money is made, but they know it is better to be their own bosses.

By now Benjamin and his colleagues have built up their business. they are still not sure whether they are earning more money than they would have done if they were to have stayed at the centre, but they do feel that they are better off because they are their own bosses. ■



Self Reliance in Tools.

One of our editors made a quick visit to a few Harare hardware shops in December to discover what tools and materials used in the most important trades: building, carpentry, metalwork, plumbing and agriculture, are made in Zimbabwe and what are imported. This list is not complete, but it gives a useful impression of the situation.

With sanctions against South Africa being seriously discussed, an important question is what tools are made in South Africa or might be prevented from reaching us by South African action. Sophisticated tools and materials, highly priced for their size and weight, could be flown in, but low-priced and bulky tools must come overland.

made in Zimbabwe:	trade name	also imported from: (11)
41b hammer		
carpenter's hammer		
tool boxes		
G-clamps		SA
cold chisels, carpenter's chisels - 4 sizes		
screwdriver - 6mm only		
builder's trowels	Kendy	
small hacksaw		
pipe wrenches		China
soldering iron (heavy, for heating in fire),		
soldering iron (electric)		
tinsnips, grindstones, bolts, hasps, and fittings		
spades, shovels, axes, picks, badza, fork, barrows		
bowsaw, ploughs, planters		
screws		UK, West Germany
files		
scissors		China, West Germany
galvanised wire		
wire stretcher		
plane	JAKS, Mutare	
assembled in Zimbabwe, or made from imported materials		
padlocks	Majestic & Crown	SA, China, Brazil etc.
electric plugs		
spirit level - bulb imported		
paintbrushes - bristles imported		
adhesives	Genkem, Trinepon, Dunlop imported materials	
nylon rope	imported materials	
imported from South Africa:	trade name	also imported from:
saws	Lasher	
shifting spanners	Gedore	China, West Germany
tape measures		UK, West Germany
galvanised iron sheet		
large hacksaws		China, West Germany
imported from elsewhere: (2)	Country of origin:	
pliers	UK, East Germany	
power tools	West Germany	
power tool fittings	France, Sweden	
drill bits		
claw hammers	Taiwan.	

This list shows that we are not heavily dependent on South Africa as a manufacturer. They are our main source of only some tools which are a bit more sophisticated than we produce ourselves. If they make anything more advanced than these, we can get better from elsewhere.



Appropriate Technology

example one

The Blair VIP Latrine.

Appropriate technology seems to mean many things. Taken literally it should mean technology suited to the needs of the users and their capacity to obtain and maintain it. The best test of appropriateness is whether the users have 'appropriated' it - made it their own.

By this test one of the very few small scale technologies to be proved appropriate anywhere in the world that has originated from the professional experts is Zimbabwe's Ventilated Improved Pit Latrine, known as the Blair Latrine or VIP Latrine.

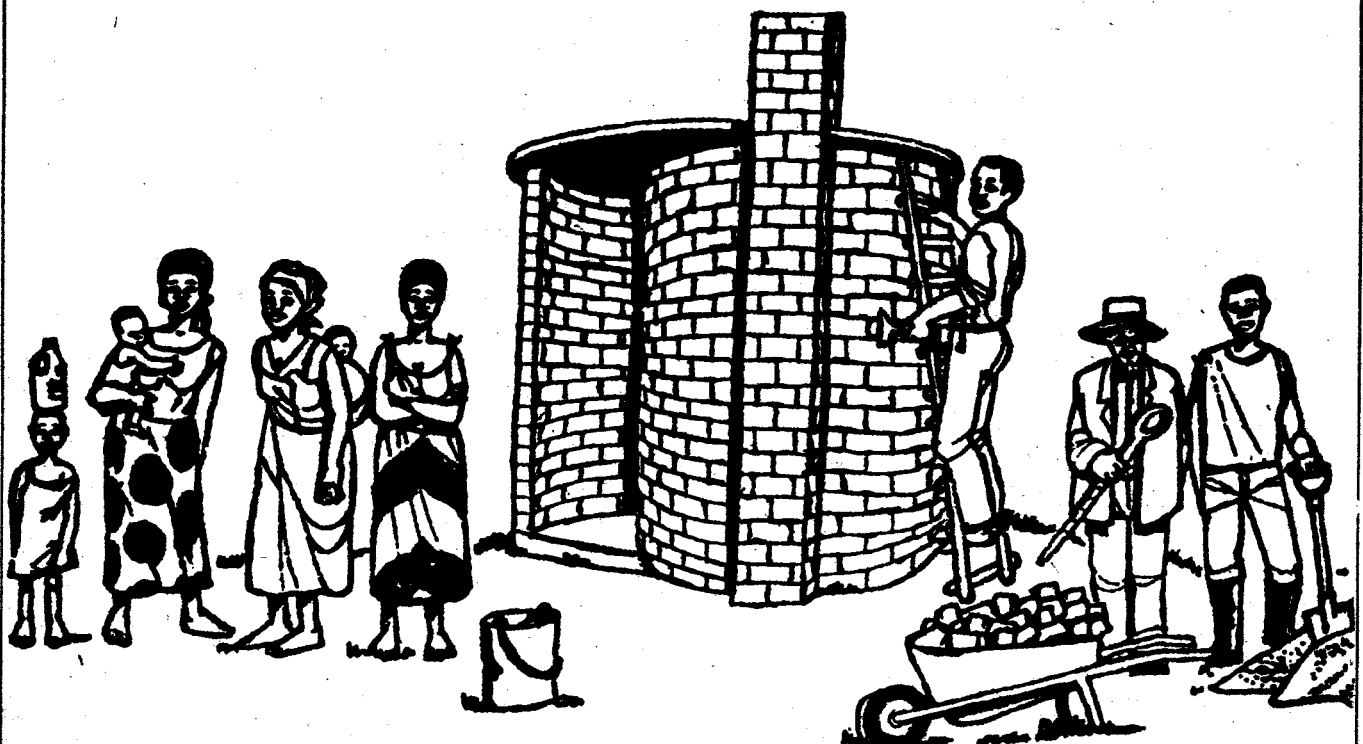
Why has it been so successful? The first answer is that technically it is very good. It does its job of preventing the spread of fly-borne disease extraordinarily well and simply. The Blair laboratory staff who designed the first VIP latrines in the early 1970's were surprised how

successful they were and took until 1983 to find a satisfactory theoretical explanation of why the latrines were so effective.

Secondly, the latrines met a need that was felt by very many people. As the population increases, the land becomes more crowded and much bush is cut down to provide wood for fuel, for building and land for farming. People find that if they want to relieve themselves in the bush they must travel further and further to find privacy and to find places they will not be threatening other people's health.

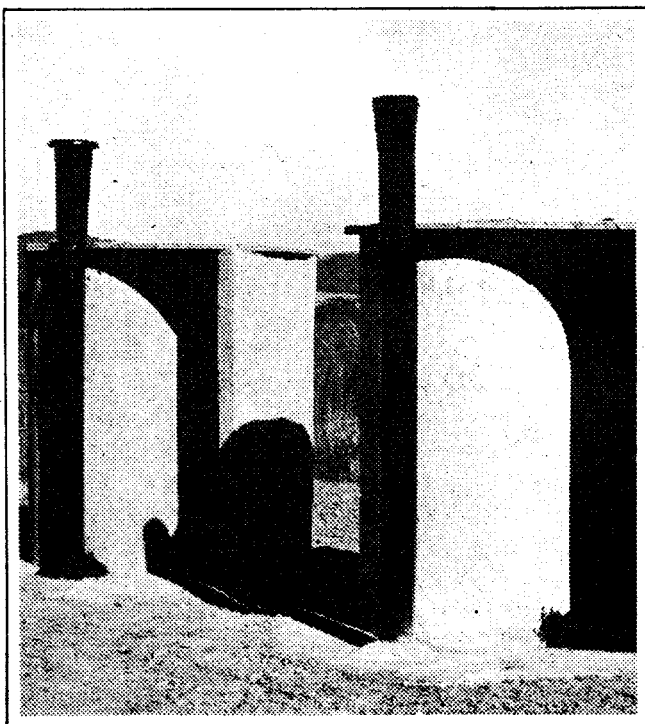
The need for privacy alone led a number of people to start building latrines, but many people do not like the traditional pit latrine because it is smelly and does not noticeably improve their health.

The best test of appropriateness - have the users made it their own. Do they use it?





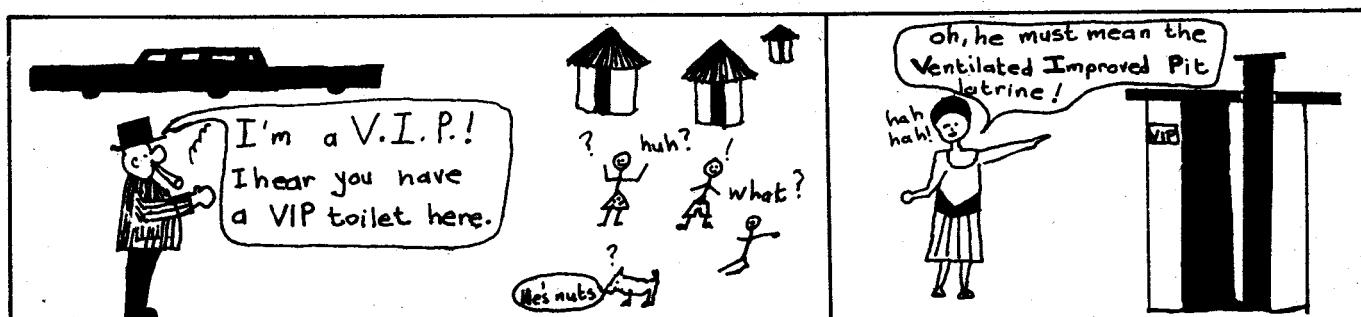
three examples



The VIP latrine, however, is remarkably free from smells if users just keep the floor clean. Technically it is so good that although it was used in the keeps during the war, it is still popular. All else associated with the keeps became most unpopular, but now in some places the only evidence of where a keep once stood is a row, or two rows, of 1977 - model VIP latrines.

The people's government in 1980 saw the benefits these latrines could bring to the people and did their best to encourage people to build them. They encouraged builders to learn to build VIP latrines and have offered some cement as a subsidy to help people in communal areas to build their own.

In some areas the new latrines are so widespread that health workers can say 'anyone who builds the old type is bringing back diseases that we have eliminated: 'ari kuroya vamwe vake'.



example two

Another felt need of our poorer people, in towns and in rural areas, is fuel. Firewood is becoming scarce, and different methods are being attempted to solve the problem. We hear nearly every week of a new fuel-saving stove or a new tree-planting scheme.

Both of these approaches have had some success, but if the people's initiatives are to be co-ordinated, government and development agencies need information such as

- * in what areas is firewood scarce?
- * what wood is most used, and why?
- * why are so many trees being cut down? (in some areas they are felled for fuel, in others most are cut to clear land for farming.)
- * do any of the stoves that are being promoted really save wood?

How much firewood have we?

This means we need surveys. But, if we are to plan effectively for our own needs, we must be able to do our own surveys and repeat them regularly, so that we know how the situation is changing; for better or worse, or better or worse than was expected.

We have in Zimbabwe people with most of, if not all, the skills needed to do this. We have a fairly well organised and well equipped Central Statistical Office (CSO), so are our own surveys being carried out? Some are. The 1982 census included questions about people's living standards and health facilities that were not asked in previous censuses, and the CSO has a household surveys unit which is trying to keep this information up to date.



three examples

Seminar on the Imperitives and Benefits of National Unity in Zimbabwe (in support of the Unity Talks)

Sat. 28 March 9 - 6pm

Sun. 29 March 9 - 1pm

Park Lane Hotel, Harare.

Co/sponsored by: Journal of Social Change and Development, African Association of Political Science, Zimbabwe Economic Society, Zimbabwe Association of Democratic Jurists, Zimbabwe Union of Journalists, Star Press, Zimbabwe Writers Union and Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions.

ALL WELCOME

The next issue of Social Change and Development will be a special issue on the seminar.

Then why do we still hear of foreign experts coming to do surveys for us? These are, of their nature, one off-jobs which may tell us in great detail what the situation was, e.g. in 1982, but may not help us to track its development since.

Why do we still hear of foreign experts coming to do surveys for us?

Sometimes, if half the money spent on foreign consultants was spent instead on training and equipping our own people, the result would give Zimbabwe ten times the benefits.

But what has actually happened? In 1982, the Swedish Beijer Institutedid a national energy survey. They used mainly staff

of the Central Statistical Office directed by an American consultant. The results collected were taken by the consultant to be analysed by a computer elsewhere, because the CSO do not have a computer which could do this job. The figures that came from the computer went into a report which was marked 'confidential' and is now gathering dust in some selected government offices. Even the statisticians who helped to produce it do not have copies. The information is not available to all who need it, and although the CSO showed they could do most of the job, they did not get the training or the computer which would enable them to repeat and update it every few years.

About the same time, the West Germans funded a very detailed survey on fuelwood supply and use in some areas of Masvingo Province. Copies of this can be found at the University, but some agencies and government departments concerned with fuelwood problems hardly know it exists.

Now we hear of a new national fuelwood survey by SADCC, the EEC and the Dutch government. Do they know how much has been done already? Will they use and improve the staff and equipment we have already, or will they spend larger sums of money to bring less benefits to Zimbabwe? And when their results are collected, analysed and printed, will they be published so that everyone who needs them can easily use them?

We don't know the answers to these questions yet, but past experience suggests they urgently need to be asked. ■

example three **Appropriate Industrial Production.**

It is not widely known that Zimbabwe is one of the few producers of the highest quality vanadium steel, which is very important for a few highly specialised and sophisticated manufacturing processes.

This steel is in great demand, so it earns us foreign currency, and the relatively rare metal vanadium, as well as all the other materials for making vanadium steel

are found in Zimbabwe, so this might seem a good way of using our resources, but those resources are limited and we could ask whether there are better ways of using them.

Better ways would produce the same earnings that we get from producing vanadium steel but use less of our manpower, money



three examples

by Brian McGarry

or material resources, or they might earn more from the same manpower, materials and money used for this. Or, they might instead of earning us 'x million' dollars reduce our import bill by 'x million' or more dollars.

Producing vanadium steel makes heavy demands on our skilled manpower and our industrial skills. The process by which it is made needs to be very carefully controlled, and this control is the full time, 24-hour-a-day, seven days a week, responsibility of one highly qualified Zimbabwean engineer. In Japan controlling the same process employs six engineers of this level at one smelter. In West Germany it is controlled electronically using millions of dollars worth of computerised equipment. Zimbabwe cannot afford either of these alternatives, so the result is that in our smelter the process often runs out of control; batches of the steel are spoiled and sometimes the smelting equipment itself is badly damaged because a serious fire can be caused by the process getting only a little out of control. As a result, paying for repairs to the smelter and making up production losses both make

our vanadium steel more expensive to produce than that from Japan or West Germany.

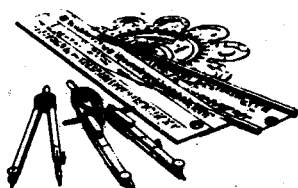
Meanwhile, we do not use the steel ourselves; it is exported. But there are a number of metals needed by our industry which we do not produce although producing them would be technically easier than making vanadium steel. We do not produce galvanised iron sheet: we use plenty, but it is all imported from South Africa. Given the will to obtain the equipment, producing our own galvanised iron sheet would be much less of a drain on our resources than producing vanadium steel.

The latest published trade figures (for 1983) show that, in that year, we could have saved nearly \$500 000 in foreign currency if we had been able to galvanise sheet iron and steel for ourselves, even still importing the sheet. We could make a much bigger saving if we had our own rolling mill, to make our own iron and steel into sheet. In 1983, imports of sheet iron and steel cost us a total of \$21 245 000 and even when we allow that we exported an amount worth \$1 420 000, this is a lot of foreign currency; nearly \$20 million. ■

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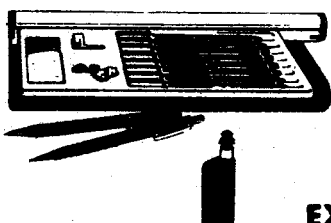
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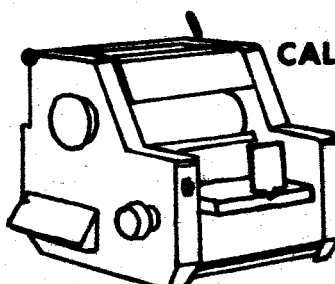
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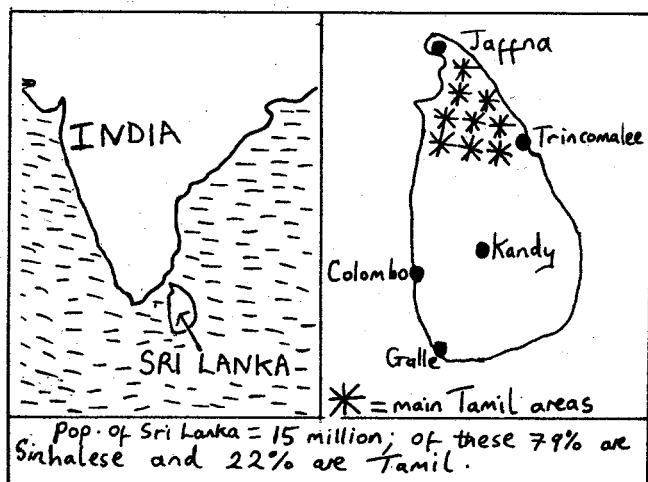




Repression in Sri Lanka

Sri-Lanka today is in deep crisis, faced with a series of complex social, economic and political problems. Communal violence is but one symptom of the disease. Violence has been done since the present government came to power, violence to truth, to justice as well as violence by the gun; democracy is in danger.

In this situation no one can be excused from making the most vigorous political, social and economic analysis of the causes which is an indispensable step towards guiding Sri Lanka on a path that will lead to genuine social stability in the future.



The Silent Intelligentsia

Against this backdrop one of the saddest features of contemporary Sri Lankan life is that bold, rational, logical and intellectually honest thinking on public issues which are so closely linked to the very survival of this nation, has virtually ceased to exist excepting for a minority of men and women who are prepared to carry the cross, express their views and be damned, branded as enemies of the 'just and free society'.

Ever since 1977 there have been spasms of violence in this country. Violence to truth, violence to the pen, violence to justice, violence by political design and violence by the gun, the knife and the sword. Yet, all those forms of violence recede in comparative insignificance when viewed against the 'violence' of the silence of the thinking public, a trait that surprisingly seems to be present among a large number of Sri Lankans

What has gone wrong with them? How does one explain this phenomenon? How did the mental blocks occur? What makes them so afraid to think straight and speak out boldly? Why don't they form their opinions and stand firmly with truth even when it is unpleasant to be steadfast in their convictions, and be proud of them?

Why are they so afraid to think straight and speak out boldly?

It is against this background of a rather depressing scenario that the decline of democracy in South East Asian countries is looked at to see whether the symptoms of this malady are visible in Sri Lanka today. The time has come when the public, the Heads of major religions, political and social leaders, and all concerned people should reflect genuinely on what is taking place. They should be courageous enough not to shy away from controversial or provocative positions that are in the best interest of the people of this country.

Experiences of Newly Independent Countries

Sri Lanka was one of the many countries in South, South East and West Asia that received political independence by the end of World War II. After these countries broke off connections with the colonial rulers, a few of them adopted the socialist model while most of them opted for the political model of parliamentary democracy. During the past two decades however, with the exception of Japan, India, and Sri Lanka so far, all political systems based on the Westminster pattern or American style of democracy vanished and were replaced with authoritarianism, dictatorial rule, or one party government.



Although the shift from democratic political systems to authoritarian rule was accompanied by a shift towards open economies, most governments however did not revert back to the original political system of parliamentary democracy.

Death of Democracy

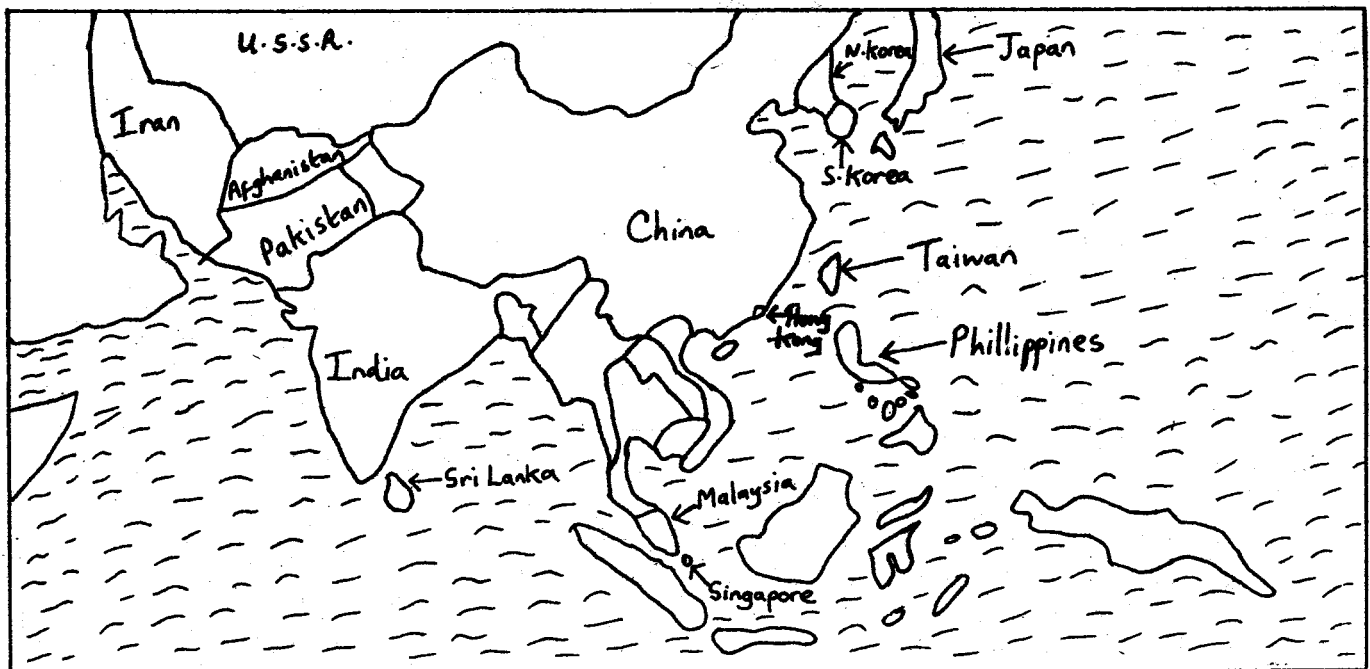
The decline of democracy in these countries cannot be explained as a coincidence because most of them inherited distinctly different social and cultural traditions and patterns of government. Evidence seems to support a view that most of these countries took on authoritarian forms of government and remain so primarily on economic grounds. The Model of Development adopted by Sri Lanka in 1977, and the political, administrative, and constitutional changes that followed give ample room to ask the question - is authoritarianism becoming an economic imperative in Sri Lanka? And what are the noticeable symptoms that have shown up?

Why is Authoritarianism an Imperative?

When the newly emerged nations severed connections with the imperialist powers, sooner or later they got entangled in the new alignments and regional groupings that were formed because of the involvement of the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union in these parts of the world, and the commercial penetration of the region by the Japanese. The new alignments and alliances when examined in depth, not only indicate the actual interests of the leaders (usually to remain in power), but also the influence of these political powers. Thus they came to play an important role in the emergence and perpetuation of authoritarian regimes in the region.

The Consequences

With the shift in economic policies and the erosion of democracy the authoritarian-



On the economic side there is the case of Singapore oft quoted as the outstanding model of high growth based on foreign capital and industrial exports. Today Singapore is faced with an avalanche of economic ills.

Economic growth is down to 3%, industry is retrenching and the country has too many multistorey buildings. So construction is slowing down and banks, which lend against property as collateral, are in difficulties.

Singapore is not the only miracle economy in troubled waters. Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea that organised their economies in accordance with the exclusive model of the World Bank are moving towards a similar situation.

Taiwan was part of Chinese territory until 1949 when it was invaded by the Portuguese. At the end of World War II it was turned back to China by the Japanese who were occupying it at the time. In 1949, however, after the Communist victory in mainland China, the island was taken over by anti-communist forces led by Chiang Kai-shek. This move was backed by the U.S.A. who have continued to economically and militarily support Taiwan.



ETHNIC VIOLENCE IS ONE OF SRI LANKA'S PROBLEMS WHICH OFFERS A PRETEXT FOR INCREASED REPRESSION AGAINST ALL OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT'S PRESENT POLICIES.



ian Asian rulers obtained an unhealthy monopoly of power. The consequences of placing absolute power in the hands of one man or one party with a transnationalised economy has achieved 'development' that is diametrically opposite to the simple aspirations of the vast mass of people. This is well summarised in an article by M. Arruda entitled 'Program of Transnational Corporations' under the auspices of the World Council of Churches.

"development" that is diametrically opposite to the simple aspirations of the people.

In this he says: 'The ongoing transnationalisation of the economy which we consider to be responsible for the decline of democracy in Asia, imposes new definitions of the functions of Asian societies in terms of security and stability, and at the same time deprives them of their sovereign political and economical character and democratic nature. It consequently accentuates the banishment of the masses from political

power, the destruction of democratic institutions and the violation of human rights, and reduces the politico-military apparatus of the state to an instrument of social control and internal repression to guarantee the success of this exclusive economic model.

Many of the countries that fall into this category followed the economic prescriptions of the World Bank and accepted total dependence. Thus in order to entice foreign investment which is a part of the package of strategies, many changes were brought about in their constitutions, laws and policies to ensure a climate of social stability, a prerequisite that aid donors and investors look for. Further, Asian leaders themselves know that the Western democracies ironically favour strong right wing authoritarian regimes when it comes to deciding which countries to give aid and investment to.

strict control over wages and trade unions.

In an interesting study by Cheryl Player of the South Korean export miracle, it was shown that the proposed economic model did not require a monopoly of power nor unrestrained investment, but it needed a strict control over wages and trade unions and the prohibition of strikes. Cheap labour is the most attractive incentive for foreign investors because 'cheap labour and raw material are the incubators of new wealth for the already wealthy'.

Changes in Sri Lanka Itself

In 1977, falling in line with this requirement, the government apparently began to clear the ground for foreign investors in the form of some guarantees. It dismissed 150 000 public servants who participated in the general strike, thirty of whom have committed suicide.

their demand was a pay rise of only Z\$16.00.

Their demand was a pay rise of only Z\$16 which is a fraction of the massive salary increases given subsequently to members of the extended parliament of 1983.



However the cutting back of trade union activities continued with special treatment shown to those unions that support the government. They were able to strike and demand pay rises without being harrassed, intimidated and assaulted.

private armies.

Others function as paramilitary forces (private armies) to crush the strikes organised by brother trade unionists and to clamp down on 'erring' intellectuals, Judges of the Supreme Court and political opponents. They are given licence to resort to violence, use public equipment even under the very eyes of the guardians of the law who turn a blind eye because they have to guard themselves against reprisals for doing their duty! Can all these adjustments benefit Sri Lanka in the long run?

Ready Excuses for More Repression

Nobody will ever believe that Asian leaders have rejected democratic forms of government only because of alleged external and internal challenges by communists, naxalites or militant minorities. Yet this is the most common reason given by those taking on dictatorial powers. The postponment of Sri Lanka's general elections in 1983 because of fictitious naxalites and substituting it with a referendum, the unfairness of which is documented, falls into this category of excuses.

When threats such as these are presented as extra-ordinary dangers which justify extra-ordinary measures, national defence



invariably becomes national security. The experiences of some Asian countries show that this was how they started.

massive popular unrest.

Military values permeate and infiltrate the entire civil administration and society with the inevitable outcome of military rule or some kind of dictatorship. Many of the countries that adopted the open economy model of development totally, were faced with massive popular unrest sooner or later. This was caused

stable investment climate for western interests.

by economic policies that never understood the links between hunger and poverty, corruption, waste, inefficiency and the unequal distribution of the benefits of so-called development, and were compelled to resort to repressive means of keeping the people down. No wonder any opposition to corporate or foreign interests become a matter for the police, and anyone who questions the development model is automatically treated as subversive. Thus, popular unrest for whatever reason, has to be repressed by whatever means in order to create and maintain a 'stable investment' climate for Western interests.

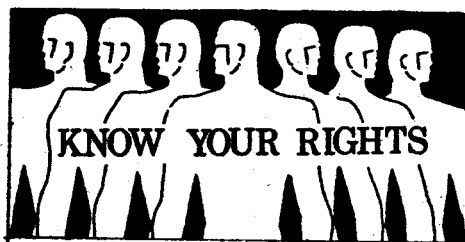
Who Benefits from Repression

The close interrelation between internal political elites and external interests creates and perpetuates social and political structures that to the masses can only mean a worsening of the crisis of underdevelopment. In fact, all arguments in favour of the ongoing militarisation for instance, would seem to appear as only excuses for a privileged political and economic minority to justify the use of military force in order to overcome any threats to the prevailing order, to protect their wealth, and discourage and overcome rebellion on the part of the poor and oppressed. Thus the new ideology of National security is enmeshed with, and happily married to political and economic issues....

Ed. note: Naxalites are a left-wing movement inspired by a Maoist peasant insurrection that took place in the Province of Naxal, India in the 1960's.



worker's compensation



by Ms. Mupindu from ZIDS.

What do I do if I've been injured or become ill as a result of my job?



Many workers and their families now have the right BY LAW to receive financial compensation if they are injured or killed in an accident that is related to their work. It is important for you to know whether you are covered, and if you are, what should you do.

All employers are obliged BY LAW to contribute to the Workers' Compensation Fund, except for employers of Domestic workers and Civil servants. If an accident is caused by some aspect of your work, then you are entitled to claim for financial help. If you, the worker, earns less than \$1333,33 per month, are able to receive financial help (relief). This means that persons earning more than \$1333.33/mnth are not covered under the Workers' Compensation Act.

Notification

When an accident occurs, it is important to report it as soon as possible, for this is how a claim for compensation is made. When the accident has been reported the claim for compensation can be assessed. It is the EMPLOYER'S RESPONSIBILITY to report the accident to the nearest Workers' Compensation Office. If the employer does not do this, ask your Workers' Committee or Trade Union to help you.

What can you claim?

If the claim is accepted by the Fund, it will pay the expense of treating the injury. This means all medical charges, as well as transport, drugs, hospitals and providing artificial limbs or appliances. The employer does not pay for these.

Who looks after W. Compensation

Workers' Compensation is administered by the Ministry of Labour Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. The Department of Occupational Health and Safety and Workers' Compensation deal with this.

Other Benefits

The Law grants relief for workers who are disabled in an accident either as a lump sum of money or as a pension, depending on the degree of the disablement.

If the worker is killed in a work related accident, her husband (or his wife) will receive a pension, and children will receive an allowance.

But where are the workers' compensation offices?



HARARE: P.O. BOX 8017 CAUSEWAY

BULOWAYO: P.O. BOX 1294

SWERU: P.O. BOX 44

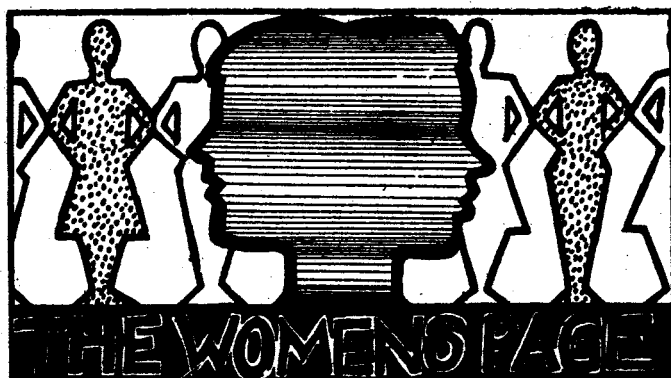
MUTARE: P.O. BOX 7009

MASVINGO P.O. BOX 195

CHIMHOYI P.O. BOX 197

Even though it is your employer's duty to report an accident, the person injured or a member of the family of a person killed should check with the Workers' Compensation Office that the report has been made. Unless a report is made, NO compensation will be given. Your Workers' Committee or Trade Union should help you.

Domestic workers are not covered by this Act, so they can only be compensated for work related injuries if the employers have covered them against accidents under their own house insurance. There is NO law which compels employers to do this.



by Development Technology Development Centre, University of Zimbabwe

This centre's task is to find, develop and promote the best available, locally sustainable technology for the conditions under which Zimbabwe's poorer people live. This means mainly for rural areas. Some people call such technology 'appropriate technology', but this term can be confusing; technologies may be 'appropriate' for conditions very different from those we are concerned with; we prefer, and many people prefer, to describe our work as development technology.

Even within the rural areas of Zimbabwe, there are wide differences, so the technology appropriate for development may not be the same in each. Neither tractors or hoes are in themselves inappropriate.

women have been largely ignored in development efforts.

It is the context in which they are used which makes them one or the other. So while at one stage a hoe is the right tool, in another it may be the ox-drawn plough, and later a tractor. Development technology is mainly aimed at rural people of whom most are women. However it is women who have been largely ignored in development efforts in the past.

It is not unusual for rural women to work 13 hours or more per day.

Many tasks previously done by men and children like ploughing and herding are now to be done by the women. They must also do all the domestic work needed to keep the household going e.g. fuel and water collection, cooking, cleaning, as well as bearing and looking after children. It is not unusual for rural women to work 13 hours or more per day. It

rural women

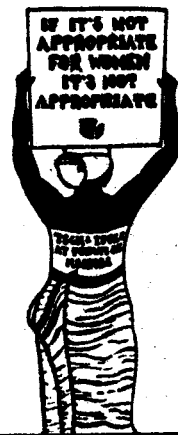
Appropriate Technology for Rural Women

seems clear that these women are particularly in need of help to make life easier for them. Can development or appropriate technology give them the helping hand they need? There have been a number of important lessons learned about development technology and why people do or do not use it. Very often 'development projects' which try to help women end up giving them even more work to do.

Secondly, a common reaction in the past has been to look at development technology as being second best. The first 'development technologies' were invented in developed countries, often in reaction to the negative consequences of high technology like unemployment and air pollution, and were nice ideas looking for a home. Even when technologists started designing for a specific Third World situation, they often did not see things that were important to the people who would use them in the end.

**If It's Not Appropriate
For Women,**

**It's Not
Appropriate**



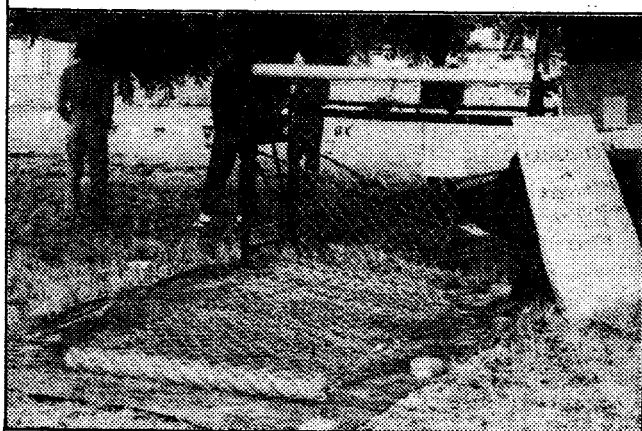
FROM THE TRIBUNE.



Thirdly, there might be nothing wrong with the technology, but it needs to be remembered that for many people and particularly the poor, trying something new can be quite risky.

trying something new can be quite risky.

To find technical solutions to people's problems, we must look very carefully at the whole situation in which these problems are set. Solutions need to be found first for women's most serious



problems. The main needs of rural people can be split into:

1. finding ways of earning money.
2. making domestic work easier and less time consuming.
3. improving agriculture to get more food from the available land.

Let us take each one of these main problem areas and see how development technology might help:

Finding ways of earning money.

1. The money available in rural areas comes partly from relatives working in town and partly from the sale of extra farm produce. It is seldom enough to pay for all the things people need and want to buy. There have been some attempts at 'income generating activities' for rural people in the past. In the case of women these activities were mainly home or domestic centred e.g. baking, knitting, sewing. It can be difficult to make a profit doing these things because the goods from towns are cheaper and nicer (e.g. soap) or these things are not what rural people want to spend their little money on. Sometimes these activities give women extra work, rather than making life easier. Even if an activity e.g. baking, could make a profit, women have to be taught not only the process of baking but also all the unseen skills involved such as the planning, costing and marketing, and awareness of potential problems of such a project.

hand made fencing is 20% cheaper than factory made fencing.

Before this can be done illiteracy has to be overcome. If it is understood that good management is the key to the success of any money making enterprise, it only remains to produce something that people will pay for. At this point development technology can help. For example: a new hand operated tool for making fences. There is a big need for fencing in the rural area for kraals and gardens. There is a potential market for it. Hand made fencing is 20% cheaper than factory made fencing. The machine is easy to use and the wire is locally made and so available in Zimbabwe. The work can be done anytime e.g. if there

continued on page 30



The Million Dollar Man

*Yes, I am the expert
As you can well see
Arriving by jet plane
With my HYV **

*It's straight to the hotel
Decisions today!
I'm meeting those chaps
From the MoA **

*Let's grow carnations!
—Now wouldn't that be
A nice way of raising
Their low GNP **

*Then off to the village
(I hope it's not far)
First on with the shorts
And my SLR **

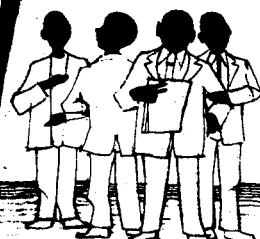
*I can't speak the lingo
Phew, what a hot day!
—But I saw a nice farmer
And things seem OK*

*So I write my report
And I pocket my fee
Then it's time to depart
For the next LDC **



The Village

*Now who was that man?
And why did he come?
Stayed just half an hour
Only met the chief's son*



The Government

*What's this he's left us?
Four volumes or more!
We'll need a new expert
To say what it's for*

KEY TO THE EXPERT

HYV High Yielding Variety
MoA Ministry of Agriculture
GNP Gross National Product
SLR Single Lens Reflex (camera)
LDC Less Developed Country

Drawing by Clive Offley



is less farm work. In this example fence making could be an activity with potential to make money. Probably it would be possible for each district to have a fence maker. But if too many people begin to make fencing no one will make sufficient money and some other activity has to be found.

The same is to be said for carpenters and bakers or craft workers. There are already many good, simple technologies suitable for small businesses. Under-exploited possibilities are: roof tile making from fibre and cement and vegetable processing like drying or canning.

no activity is magic.

Established activities like poultry and rabbit keeping can be viable if well managed. New ideas that should be looked into are pole production and tanning of hides and oil expressing. No activity is magic and there are always some problems which an enthusiastic group can overcome.

south african rural women

LIFE IN THE BANTUSTANS IS OFTEN LONELY AND TOUGH FOR WOMEN. THE HARSH STRUGGLE FOR DAILY SURVIVAL IS OFTEN AN



Making domestic work easier.

2. Relief of the work load: among the many domestic jobs women have is firewood collection and cooking. In a growing number of communal lands firewood has become so scarce that it can take many hours to collect it in these areas. It can lead to people cooking fewer meals. To solve this problem we must plant more trees. But it can also help to use the wood we have more economically e.g. with a stove that saves wood (not all stoves save wood). A small stove was developed called 'tsotso' stove (little sticks). This stove was tested by women working in Tafara, Harare. About 20% of the households in Harare are using wood for cooking and they have to buy their wood. Women in rural areas mostly collect it free. While town women already use much less wood than rural women, with a 'tsotso' stove they can still cut their consumption by half. But there are other things apart from being economical that are important to the housewife. For her, a stove must be cheap, attractive and modern looking.

INDIVIDUAL ONE. IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL SMALL GROUPS OF RURAL WOMEN HAVE FORMED VEGETABLE GROWING COOPERATIVES.

'We have been thinking of the struggle we have to get vegetables to eat with the daily porridge....we saw that the women were growing vegetables for their own families in small gardens at their homesteads. We were keen to know what they were using, because their vegetables were so good and healthy....they told us these were trench gardens. They said they made their gardens through group work!

'We came back thinking that to make these gardens was an easy job. Each woman went to her homestead to dig, but we failed, because we could not do the work as individuals! (The women then joined together and formed a group.)

'As a group we must be equal...it is a struggle to be equal, to get everyone to share in the discussions and work.

'Even the whole village has been excited by this project. Many others have become involved in making the gardens. As a group we are always ready to help.'



It should be safe with children. It counts even more if the stove is fast in cooking. While the designer might want to save wood, the user will think other things are more important.

Women would not use these stoves if they did not meet their needs as they see them. Women using these stoves now save time they need to spend collecting wood and cooking. They also save on trees that need to be cut down. So the technology serves several purposes.

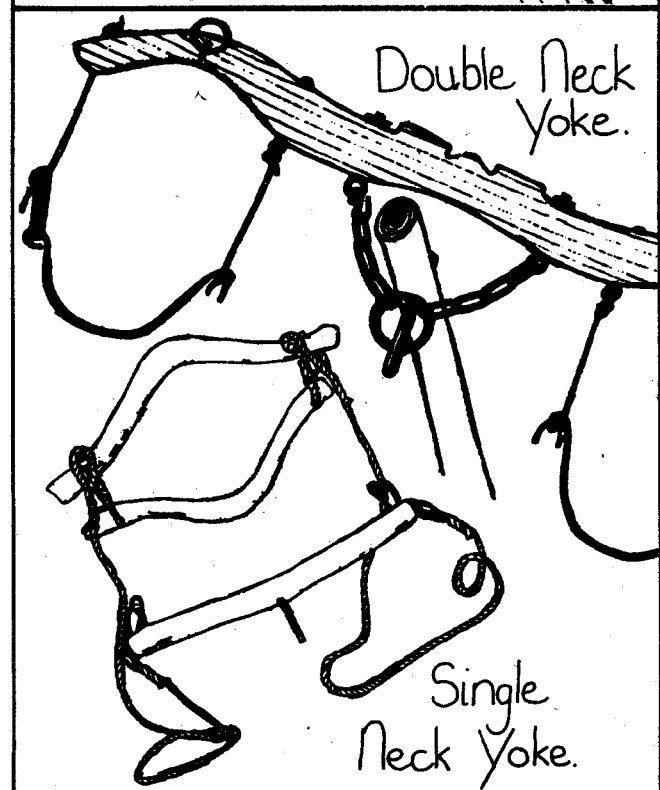
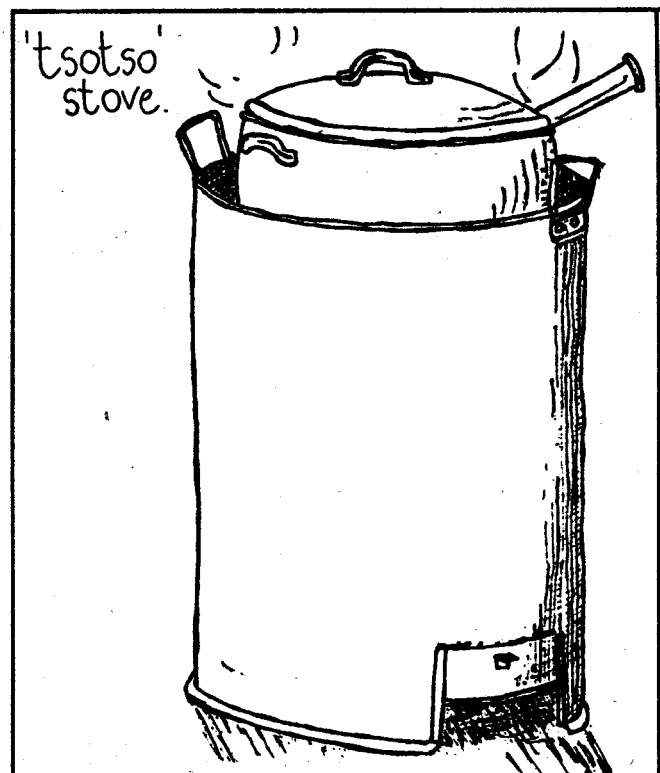
Improving agriculture.

3. Farming provides the food that feeds the family. It also can earn extra money for them. As the number of people becomes greater, so the amount of land for each person becomes less. Ways must be found of making agriculture more intensive, but at the same time easier and less time consuming. That people use animals to pull ploughs and cultivators in Zimbabwe is already a great advantage. But the power output of an ox is closely connected to the harness it carries and how the tool being pulled by it has been connected to it.

traditional yokes are designed more to ensure an easy control over the animal than to maximise its power.

Traditional yokes are designed more to ensure an easy control over the animal than to maximise its power. Merely by improving the harness, an increase in the quantity and the quality of work done is made possible. More land can be ploughed which would give greater yields, or the same land could be prepared in less time. The double yokes used in Zimbabwe always require two animals even for light jobs that one animal could do. Single yoke harnesses could make for more efficient use of available draft power and save time.

There are also improved technologies for keeping food after it has been harvested. A simple solar dryer can efficiently dry fruits and vegetables. Specially designed grain storage huts can lessen the amount of loss to rats and insects. Very simple tools for removing maize grains from the cob can greatly cut down the time needed for this job.



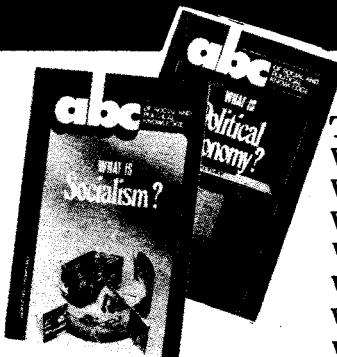
The importance of women in the process of rural development has only recently become clear. It is mainly through them that real grassroots development can take place. Those working in rural development must look very closely at what the special needs of women are. Technologies may then be developed that are locally affordable and most importantly made acceptable to women.

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(Part 99)

The Freedom Charter

by Laloo Chiba

Review of Part I

In Issue 14 Laloo Chiba discussed the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) under the post 1945 militant leadership of Dadoo, Naiker, and its historic pact with the ANC. He looked at the results of the Passive Resistance Campaign and the ANC Programme of Action of 1949, leading to a broader based unity within the movement. Finally she noted the popular Defend Free Speech Convention of 1950 (in response to bannings of communists) which called the successful May Day strike of 1950 and the response of the fascist 'Nat' government to the increasing mobilisation of the people — the Group Areas Bill and the Unlawful Organisations Bill...

Defiance Campaign

In view of the May Day massacres and the new bills, ANC summoned an emergency conference. After consultations with the SAIC, the ANC declared that 26 June 1950 would be a National Day of Protest and Mourning. A protest against the two bills and mourning for all who had laid down their lives in the cause of Freedom. Workers, shopkeepers and students were asked to strike on that day. Once again, it was a tremendously successful strike, but its real significance was that it was the FIRST political strike held in South Africa on a NATIONAL scale. Despite such developments, the two bills became law, and in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, the SACP was declared an unlawful organisation.

The legislation of unjust laws continued unabated during the remainder of that

year and the first half of 1951. So the national executive committees of the ANC and the SAIC met at a conference in July 1951. Here they discussed the disturbing situation that was developing. They resolved that the ANC and the SAIC would jointly declare war on unjust laws. A joint planning council was set up to plan and co-ordinate the campaign. An ultimatum was to be sent to the Government to repeal six of unjust laws by the 29 February 1952.

declare war on unjust laws.

These were the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act and regulation regarding the culling of cattle. If the Government refused to repeal the laws, the ANC and SAIC would launch the campaign for Defiance for Unjust Laws — shortly known as the

Defiance Campaign. As a prelude to the campaign, mass demonstrations were held throughout the country on 6 April 1952, which was to be declared a day of Pledge and Prayer. It was also the 300th anniversary of the white man's arrival in South Africa. The ultimatum was sent but the response made it clear that should the campaign be launched, the Government would retaliate with all the means at its disposal.

It was decided to establish a National Volunteer Board calling for thousands of volunteers for the Campaign. Two additional decisions were taken: firstly, to launch the Defiance Campaign on 26 June 1952, and secondly, that Moses Kotane, Dr Dadoo, JB Marx and David Bopape, who were all banned, should be the first volunteers to defy the unjust laws.

The Defiance Campaign was launched on the 26th of June 1952.



While the white minority was celebrating the 300th anniversary of their arrival the oppressed demonstrated in their thousands on the 6 April 1952, throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. And at all these meetings and demonstrations our people took the vow to do everything in their power to carry out the Congress call to fight against the unjust laws and from that day onwards to act as disciplined men and women. They dedicated themselves to the struggle for freedom and fundamental rights.

dedicated themselves to the struggle for freedom and fundamental rights.

The Defiance Campaign was launched as scheduled. It:

- focused attention on the grievances of our people.
- raised their political consciousness to unprecedented heights.
- inspired them to challenge racial discrimination.
- instilled in our people the spirit of defiance.
- established the ANC and SAIC as the authentic representatives of the broad masses of the oppressed people.
- paved the way for the future advance of the democratic struggle in South Africa.

By December 1952 more than 8,500 volunteers had defied and gone to prison. The Defiance Campaign was the first major attempt at joint political struggles and established 26 June as South African Freedom Day.

On 26 June 1953 the 3rd anniversary of 26 June, Chief Luthuli, who had become the President of the ANC in 1952, made a national call on our people to light bonfires at nine in the evening. Around these fires would be told the history of the Black man's struggle for freedom. Alternatively, candles would be lit as a symbol of the spark of freedom.

The latter half of 1953 witnessed significant organisational developments. The CPSA, which had been banned in 1950, and had disbanded as a result, reorganised itself underground and reconstituted itself as the SACP. The South African Peace Council was established in August 1953. As a result of the more determined opposition to the

Racial category

		Population ¹	% of total
AFRICAN	'Pure' African, member of one of nine tribal or 'national' units - North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa (two units), Tsonga and Venda.	24,103,458	73.8
COLOURED	'Mixed race'. This means not only the descendants of black-white liaisons centuries ago and more recently but also acts as a catch-all for anyone with light brown skin not designated 'Indian'. Some 'coloured' people look 'white', others look 'black'.	2,830,301	8.7
INDIAN	Usually refers to people whose ancestors were brought from the Indian subcontinent by the British to work on railway construction etc.	890,292	2.7
WHITE	People whose ancestors were of European origin, most of whom speak either Afrikaans (an offshoot of Dutch) or English. Most white South Africans probably have some 'mixed blood', at an average recently estimated to be seven per cent.	4,818,679	14.8

Inequality: from cradle to grave

The difference between the quality of life of white people and black is enormous, and can be measured in every field from child health to average earnings. Merely repealing the racist laws will not eradicate this structural inequality - more fundamental economic change will be required. Compare these figures with those in the box above showing each racial category's percentages of the total South African population.



Health

Diseases notification by race 1983²

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Cholera	6,557	8	230	9
Leprosy	120	1	0	3
Measles	11,734	1,435	20	1,275
Polio	87	4	0	0
Trachoma	567	1	0	0
Tuberculosis	42,470	10,957	402	660
Typhoid	4,994	67	21	43
Viral hepatitis	644	399	52	732

Nurses per 1,000 people³
(World Health Organisation minimum 2)

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	1.5	1.8	1.4	6

Infant mortality

(deaths in first year of life per 1,000 live births 1983)²

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	80	59.2	20.7	13.4



Pensions

Percentage of pension budget 1984-5¹⁰

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	23.5	17.9	3.8	54.7



Education

Per capita expenditure by State in rand 1983-4⁴

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	234.45	589.11	1088.00	1,654.0



Work

Average monthly household income⁸ (1984, in rand)

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	273	624	1,072	1,834



Pupil-teacher ratio⁵

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	407.7 to 1	26.0 to 1	23.0 to 1	18.9 to 1



Housing

Housing shortage³

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	420,000	43,000	18,000	2,000



Percentage of selected occupations by racial group 1983⁹

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Managerial/executive	1.6	1.8	2.0	94.6
Clerical	17.3	10.4	7.7	64.6
Mining/quarrying	190.6	1.3	0.1	8.0
Service	68.1	10.9	2.1	18.9
Labourers	88.1	11.1	0.7	0.1

Separate Representation of Voter's Act, in terms of which the coloured people were removed from the Common Voter's Role, the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) was formed in September 1953. Finally, the South African Congress of Democrats (SACOD) was formed in October 1953 - the result of a political merger between a Johannesburg COD, the Springbok Legion and the Democratic League.

The SACOD and SACPO, together with the ANC and SAIC, collectively became known as the Congress Alliance.

While on the subject of unity and the formation of the people's organisations, mention must be made of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW), and the Congress of South African Trade Unions - both of which became adjuncts of the Congress Alliance.

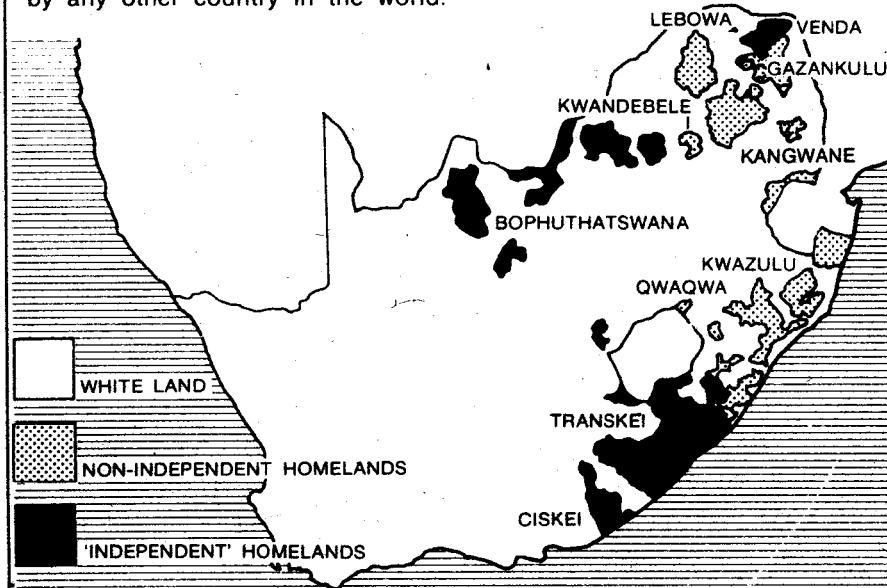
FEDSAW was a non-racial organisation which was formed in April 1954, and was composed mainly of affiliated women's groups.

SACTU formed in March 1955.

And with the government's move to racialise the trade unions, in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Legislation, trade unions which had been affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council, and racially mixed unions which opposed the new policy, broke away from the TLC. The breakaway unions then joined the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions to form SACTU in March 1955.

A divided land

The Land Act of 1913 passed by the newly-allied Boers and British removed from black people the right to own land and apportioned 87% of South Africa's land to whites. The rest - fragmented parcels of the most infertile land with the least natural resources - was designated as 'reserves' for black people. These are called 'homelands' or 'bantustans' and apartheid's dream is that black people will only come into white areas to work. South Africa encourages homeland leaders to opt for a spurious independence, not recognised by any other country in the world.



Congress of the People.

The idea of the Congress of the People (COP) was first suggested by Professor Z.K. Matthews at the Cape Province Congress of the ANC, held at Alice in August 1953, where he called the ANC to consider convening a Congress of the People, representing all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour, to draw up a Freedom Charter for the Democratic South Africa of the future. The conference adopted his proposal, and at its annual conference in December 1953 the ANC adopted it as well.

It was in March 1954 that the ANC invited 200 organisations to send representatives to a planning conference to be held at Tongaat. The conference established a National Action Council made up of

8 representatives from each of the sponsoring organisations - which were the ANC, SAIC, SACOD and SACPO. The National Action Council (NAC) had as its first task to popularise the COP, and to this end there was a mass distribution of the 'Call for the Congress of the People'. A hundred thousand copies of the 'Call for the Congress of the People' were widely

hundreds of meetings and group discussions were held throughout the country.

distributed throughout the country in all major languages and it was addressed to all South Africans, black and white. It urged people to send their representatives to the Congress of the People. The Congress was to be one where people would speak freely as equals, and where they would discuss the changes which


**BLACK
SOUTH
AFRICA
SPEAKS**

ON SANCTIONS

Greg Malebo, member of the General and Allied Workers Union.

THE argument that blacks would be hurt by sanctions is all idle talk. We are suffering already from rampant poverty,



disease and massive unemployment and a little suffering added to our burden won't make much difference. It is striking that this argument is pushed by those who enjoy privileged positions at work and in the community. It comes from those who have - either directly or indirectly - a stake in the scheme of things. When the system of capitalism, which is the real enemy, is finally crushed, these people will definitely lose something.



Oko Mabasa, English Literacy teacher.

ALTHOUGH I agree that blacks will suffer most in the event of sanctions, you have to be aware that blacks are suffering now. And adding this little suffering to their present plight will almost certainly alleviate things. Only those with full bellies can find justification in the argument against sanctions. The haves and most certainly not the have-nots. The readiness with which America has applied sanctions to Libya, alongside its reluctance to enforce them against South Africa, is a clear example of the West's hypocrisy.

Seven pillars of apartheid

Apartheid was considered to have seven key policies. These are still supported by the vast majority of white people, though more overwhelmingly by Afrikaans-speaking whites (57 per cent of the white population¹¹) than by English-speakers.

White opinion survey 1984¹²
(A - Afrikaans-speaking,
E - English-speaking)

Group Areas Act

People can only live in areas allotted to their own racial category.

Separate Education

Children go to schools designated for their own racial grouping.

Separate Amenities

Public transport, places of entertainment etc. segregated. This is now not universally applied and depends upon decisions made by local authorities.

African Homelands

All Africans are allotted a tribal homeland, which the Government then considers to be their only real home - even if they have never visited it. They are then only in 'white South Africa' to work.

Separate Voters' Rolls

Black people vote only for people of their own racial category, for authorities which only have very limited powers. Africans still have no vote at all in national elections.

Mixed Marriages Act

Forbade marriage between people from different racial groups until it was repealed in 1985.

Immorality Act

Forbade sex between people from different racial groups until it was repealed in 1985.



	For	Against
A	76.8	16.1
E	42.4	38.4

A	90.2	5.1
E	55.4	28.3

A	84.9	8.1
E	50.5	30.1

A	89.6	4.2
E	60.3	19.7

A	92.1	2.5
E	64.3	17.7

A	78.9	16.6
E	41.3	41.3

A	81.3	13.4
E	37.8	41.0

must be made to usher in the democratic South Africa of the future - changes and demands that would be incorporated into the Freedom Charter.

Also, hundreds of meetings and group discussions were held throughout the country as well as intensive door to door canvassing. The main idea behind this was to get the ordinary people to speak out for themselves, to give their grievances and demands and these in return would serve as a basis for drafting the Freedom Charter.

to get the ordinary people to speak out for themselves... as a basis for drafting the Freedom Charter.

Such a massive task required the establishment of regional, provincial and

local committees in all the major centres. And in order to man these structures and be able to effectively carry out the tasks of a massive campaign, Chief Luthuli called for Freedom volunteers in June 1954. By the end of 1954 10 000 Freedom volunteers made themselves available for the campaign.

All the demands made by the people were to be recorded.

The COP was held at Klipfontein on June 26, 1955, which marked the 5th anniversary of June 26th. It was an impressive gathering of 2884 delegates of the people. Equally impressive were the arrangements made for the housing and feeding of the people. Apart from the size, the COP was a colourful gathering, for many of the delegates wore



the colours of the Congress. But about 200 delegates were unable to reach the venue as they were prevented by the police from doing so.

When discussions began each section of the Charter was first read, subsequently discussed by various speakers and finally adopted by the delegates. Although at one stage the proceedings were interrupted by the Security Police, who confiscated large quantities of literature, the Charter was finally adopted.

These were to be considered for incorporation into the Freedom Charter. This way demands of the people incorporated into the Free-

dom Charter would reflect the people's vision for a future South Africa - fil-

The COP was the most representative political gathering ever to take place in South Africa.

The COP was the most representative political gathering ever to take place in South Africa. It gave rise to a new spirit of enthusiasm, consolidated the organisational forces of the National Liberation Movement and firmly laid the basis for uniting all democratic forces around a common political programme.

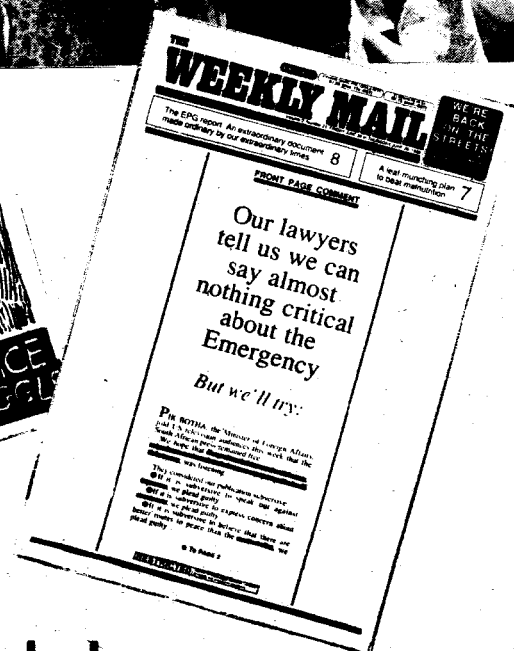
The COP also mandated the ANC, SAIC, SACPO and SACTU to work together as a united force in order to rea-

lise demands enshrined in the Charter, as well as to get the Charter endorsed and accepted by all the democratic organisations of the people.

Although the Charter had been accepted by the COP, this did not mean that the organisations automatically adopted it as well. In July 1955 the executive committees of the sponsoring organisations met and unanimously agreed to recommend the adoption of the Charter to their respective national conferences. This was done during the latter half of 1955 and during the early half of 1956, and the Freedom Charter thus became their official political programme. ■

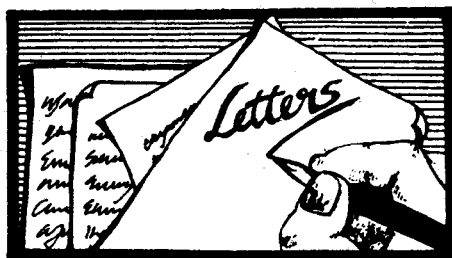


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Letter from COSAWR Committee on South African War Resistance.

Dear Friend,

In early December the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), the legal anti-conscription organisation within South Africa, was severely hit in a renewed clampdown on anti-apartheid activists within the country.

Future Focuses will be: National Unity, The Constitution, The Debt Crisis, Youth and Culture, Religion and Socialism.

Thanks to those who have contributed so far!

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THE EDITORS
SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT
P.O. BOX 4405
HARARE

If you have a serious commitment towards the development of Zimbabwe and you want to stay informed on the critical issues facing our society and the Third World: then read SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT. Subscribe now ...

In Johannesburg and Cape Town 13 prominent activists were detained and another 12 were issued with orders prohibiting them from calling for an end to conscription, the release of detainees or the withdrawal of troops from the townships. They are also prohibited from taking part in the campaigns of the United Democratic Front.

While the number is small, given that approximately 25 000 people have been detained since the State of Emergency was declared just over six months ago, it is clear that the regime has singled out the ECC as a particular target of repression.

Under the Emergency regulations it has become a crime punishable by ten years imprisonment to "undermine" the system of military service.

International protest at the actions of the apartheid government is effective and in the past has contributed to the safety and well being of detained individuals.

ECC members detained include Mike Evans, a former ECC Chairperson; Paula Hathorn, ECC's Cape Town Chairperson; Alistair Teeling Smith; Andrew Orpen; Chippy Olver; Josie Grindrod; Mathew Blatchford; Felicity Wood and Michael Rautenbach. (All from Cape Town).

Those detained in Johannesburg were Clare Verbeek, ECC's Johannesburg Chairperson; Steven Lowry, National Treasurer; Anne Marie Rademeyer and Sue Jobson.

Please write to:

Adriaan Vlok
Minister of Law and Order
Union Buildings
South Africa 0001

Protesting at the detentions of the ECC members and all detainees, as well as calling for the lifting of all restrictions on ECC and other activists.

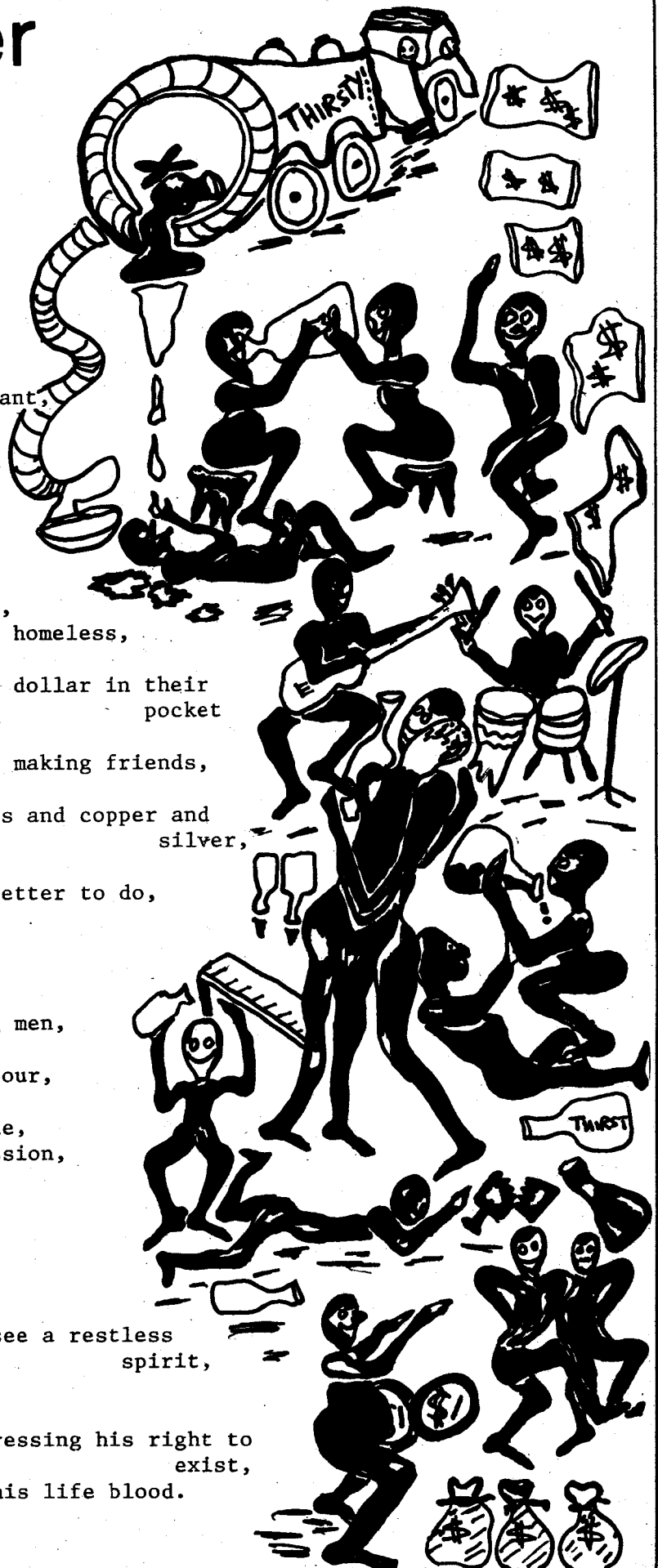
Yours faithfully

David Bellamy
(COSAWR UK)

B M Box 2190
London WC1N 3XX

by Paul Brickhill

Or tap his feet, as if the music was his life blood.
Outside the world is hopeless,
In the heat of the night of Zimbabwe.





The Freedom Charter

(Part 99)

continued from page 37

Let me emphasize at the outset that South Africa as it is constituted at present, is based only on the will of the White minority. But the preamble of the Charter declares in terms both loud and clear, that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people. The incorporation of the hopes, the demands, and the innermost aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country into the Freedom Charter has this significance: their full participation in shaping their own destiny. As such, the democratic government of the future South Africa which will be established on the basis of the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter, can justly claim authority, for then it will be truly based on the will of the people. Herein lies the first aspect of the Charter's historical significance.

At the same time the Charter's historical significance resides in the fact that it is the political programme of the National Democratic movement in this country. Our struggle is said to be national because it addresses itself to all the oppressed people and to all democrats - irrespective of their colour and their class affiliations - to establish the society as envisaged with changes that are not merely quantitative, but qualitative. For it seeks to establish a society which is not merely different to, but the opposite of what is the actual reality today. It seeks to change an unjust society to its opposite - a just society; to transform an undemocratic society to a democratic one; and to dismantle a racial society and in its place erect its opposite - a non-racial society. The nature and content of the Freedom

Charter are therefore in complete conformity with the nature and content of the National Democratic Revolution. It is the qualitative character of the changes demanded by the Freedom Charter that makes the document a non-reformist document.

But as far-reaching as the Charter is in nature and content, the Charter is by no means a final document. The Charter undoubtedly envisages a society of the FUTURE. But let it be firmly borne in mind that the socialist-orientated clauses of the Charter have all the scope for facilitating the establishment of a society of the DISTANT FUTURE.

As such, the Freedom Charter must be viewed as a transitional document, envisaging a society that is in a state of transition.

This aspect of the Charter's historical significance must therefore serve as a source of tremendous inspiration and encouragement to the working people of this country - under whose guidance, and above all, under whose leadership, the National Democratic struggle must be conducted.

Another aspect of the Charter's historical significance is that it has become the COMMON political programme of all the democratic forces in the country. It was this unifying capacity of the Freedom Charter that firmly laid the foundations, after its adoption, on which the democratic forces forged ahead with their historic mission of liberating the broad masses of the oppressed in the country. And it is this same unifying capacity of the Charter that will ultimately go a long way in shaping the society envisaged in it.



Furthermore, never in the history of the liberation movement in this country has any political statement ever caught the attention and imagination of the people as the Charter has done. For 30 years now the Charter continues to remain a beacon of hope, and a source of inspiration to the downtrodden and oppressed. And it will continue to remain so until each and every clause of the Charter has been fully implemented.

Although the Charter had been formulated during an intensive campaign and adopted at the COP itself, the process of its formulation had actually begun at the time when the oppressor first set foot in this country, and had begun the process of dispossessing the indigenous inhabitants of their land and their livelihood, and above all their liberty. The progressive crystallisation of the Charter must therefore be seen to have taken place during the numerous Wars of Resistance - during the course of which untold numbers of our heroes and heroines made the supreme sacrifice.

The eventual formulation and consequent adoption of the Charter in 1955 therefore stands as a worthy tribute to all the courageous and gallant freedom fighters, as well as to all those who have mercilessly been dealt with and ruthlessly persecuted for daring to oppose the oppressor.

But as worthy as such a tribute is, the finest and most lasting tribute which all democrats can pay to those who made such heroic sacrifices is to ceaselessly work for, and ultimately establish, the society as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

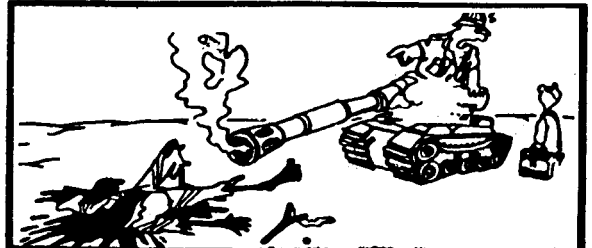
And finally, but not the least aspect of the Charter's significance is that it is a firm and clear statement of re-dedication, and of a life-long commitment to the struggle to realise the democratic society of the future. This is evident in the Preamble which states:

"And we pledge to strive together, sparing neither our strength nor courage, until the demands here set out have been won".

And it is a life-long commitment for all who accept the Charter, for at the end, the Charter stated clearly that:

social change

"These freedoms we will fight for, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty". ■



South African racist to human rights champion. "He was the first to start shooting."

DID YOU KNOW THAT.....

* almost 1 in 5 U.S. Senators has money invested in South Africa.

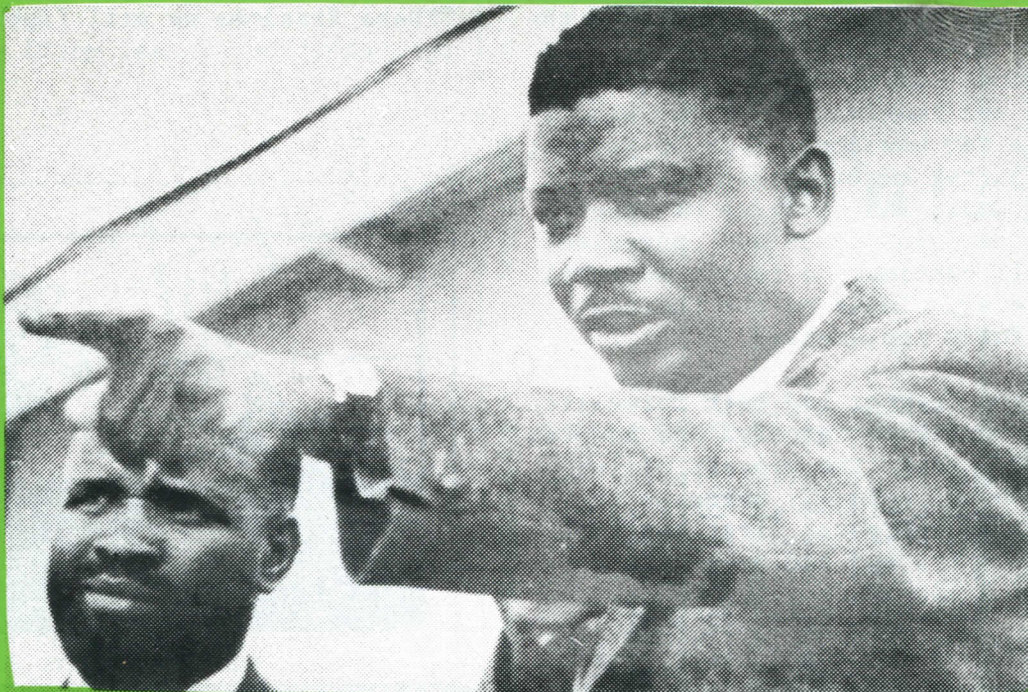
* the first Soviet - U.S. 'Mississippi Peace Cruise' took place in July this year with 46 Soviets and 130 Americans aboard a Mississippi river boat which stopped at 8 towns along the famous American Huckleberry Finn river. The boat and its occupants were given an incredibly warm reception at all towns along the river by the local population - the Mayors of all the towns at which the boat stopped declared a Day of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, surprisingly large crowds of local townsfolk greeted the boat with placards in Russian: "Welcome Soviet Friends" and "Peace, Friendship", played the Soviet National Anthem, sold Soviet newspapers, held meetings and receptions. There was a little hostility to the Peace Cruise. Perhaps one wisdom can be gleaned from this remarkable event - ordinary Americans appreciate peace, friendship and trust somewhat more than the Washington Administration.

Write to the Journal with your contributions in letter, article, poem or any other form.

SUPPORT THE JOURNAL



Herbert Chitepo



Born near Nyanga in 1923 into a poor peasant family, Herbert Chitepo rose to become his country's first black barrister and a leading figure in the nationalist movement.

Educated at St Augustine's mission, near Mutare, he was described as a brilliant scholar, always top of his class.

After training as a barrister in Britain he returned to Zimbabwe in the late 1950s where he threw himself into the nationalist movement, defending in court many nationalist figures.

Herbert Chitepo was a founder member of ZAPU in 1962 and one of those who broke away in August 1963 to form ZANU. At ZANU's first Congress at Gweru in 1964 he was elected in absentia as National Chairman, a position he retained until his death in 1975.

In 1966 Chitepo left Tanzania (where he had been working) and moved to Zambia to devote himself fully to ZANU and the intensification of the armed struggle.

Among the many things said about Chitepo are that he was the brains behind the guerilla war, the architect of Chimurenga, a tireless worker, gifted orator and a warm, compassionate family man. He has been praised for strongly resisting the pressure on ZANU to negotiate and forgo the armed struggle and

for seeing the necessity for politicising the masses if this was to succeed.

An ardent nationalist, Chitepo certainly was, but he also had a wider vision as the following statement illustrates:

"Each movement - - - each nation should shoulder the main burden of liberating itself - - once these areas are liberated (referring to Third World countries) they will become bases for the final assault on imperialism at its centre - - - by cutting off the tentacles of imperialism in the periphery (i.e. Third World), we will deprive the white working class in capitalist countries of the high standard of living they have enjoyed because of the super profits that the multi-national corporations reaped in under-developed countries. It is only when the exploited working class of both black and white realize that they have a common enemy, a common oppressor and a common exploiter, that they will unite and jointly seek to overthrow the Capitalist system. This is our global strategy against Capitalism, racism and imperialism".

Herbert Chitepo was assassinated in a car bomb explosion in Lusaka on the 18 March 1975. He was 51.

The legacy of Cde Chitepo is a heritage to all the heroic people of Zimbabwe. It is a heritage to all the struggling peoples of the world.